631
● 634

Shluh MW11

[For information on the amazzal (water administrators) and the imchchurd'a (guardians), see Category 624.]

/30 cont./

341 184 /footnote 1 continued/ technique, familiar to the Maghreb and to Spain. H. Terrasse, *Kasbahs berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis* /Berber casbahs of the Atlas and of the oases/, 1938, pp. 48 sq., sees in the pisé, "the precursor of another civilization," in the nature of urban influences (p. 79).

of the South is observed. This is the *lδh'h'*, made by framing and "damage" /ramming/. The village of Bul^{c}wân, for example, (634) proudly dominated by the house of an *amghar* /chief/, will not be moved lower in the plain. A plastering exterior to the limestone has even been practiced here. An exceptional act, because lordly. But the pisé architecture becomes rarer as one goes back up the river. Still in a. Musa, it greatly predominates: about two-thirds of the houses. But it becomes extremely rare (about one-tenth) at Z'init' and in Imt'ddan. Nonexistent in Idma and higher. It is not that earth is lacking: it still serves here for an interior, and sometimes exterior, plastering, but the stone architecture prevails more and more absolutely as one ascends.

342 184 It is not only the materials that change. But naturally also the form of the house. It is now a raised house: with two or three stories. The first that strikes the eye is, within the limits, one would say, of the techniques peculiarly montagnard, /31/ but with a completely classical perfection, the agglomeration of Tigemmi y-Iggiz: a beehive assemblage of cells, which are individual dwellings: 7 households live there. Little by little, a (634) monumental type becomes clear, which already includes beautiful examples, of almost urban appearance at Z'init', and culminates in a. H'adduyws with the five stories of the palace of the former *amghar* Umulid. Normally, the ground floor, *agrur*, serves as stable and for central heating. Above, the apartments *lbyut*, *tinwalin*; above, facultatively, the *tameçrit*, reception room or for masculine life; finally, the *asqqif*, the loft-veranda, picturesquely open on one of its faces, with wooden pillars sometimes being adjusted to the edge of the terrace by a sort of Doric. The

/32 cont./

361 apart from the others. Naturally, the preoccupations of defense have prevailed over the conveniences. Even over that of the water supply. Amsgerdat is perched on the summit of an improbable cliff. Elsewhere, as at Tasselli, the prehistoric formula called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/ survives. But strategy alone has not conditioned the installation. Sometimes even it is neglected. A bourg like Tuz'z'umt spreads out without fear. And, almost everywhere, it is the hill on the bank of the river, the first ressaut of the surface, and not the escarpment, that is chosen in order to build. Even more than security, people seek publicity. The citizen requires a situation from
621 where he embraces the perimeter of the cultivations and can fol-
361 low the movements of each. Woe to the man alone: he is a wicked person. Everything in this rural life has to take place in the open, to face debate. Two important organs of the village satisfy this preoccupation: the site for the celebration of certain rites, az'allo, and the one where the threshing floors are crowded together: inraren. Important bourgs also have their forum, the site of gatherings and dances; this is the asaïs or asarag. In contrast, there is never found, save in the rarest exception, the isolated house, the villa patriarchally surrounded by its property, which is established at the limit of the H'āh'a and the Mtugga.

The Chleuh /Shluh/ does not distinguish the hamlet from the bourg already almost urban. He always uses the word lmud'a, "locality," exotic Arabic contribution, with a quite suspect vague-
621 ness. As a general rule, there is no coincidence between the po-
634 litical unit, the taqbilt, and the unit of agglomerated habitat.
613 (In our sector, one finds only one isolated case of it, that of the a. Mh'nd.) Nor with the social unit, the ikhs. Nevertheless it sometimes happens that elements of all of an ikhs live apart, or more frequently that the village is split into quarters, as at T'abya. But what counts is rather the indifference of the habitat with regard to the social structures and to the agrarian order. The entanglements of the ikhs-s among hamlets of the same canton, and of their lands in the different quarters, without any correspondence with the divisions of the habitat other than this very complexity, is indeed rather the rule.

/32 cont./

634 Nevertheless, the agglomeration as such can assume significance:
613 this is when the excessive proportions of the taqbilt
splinter its ikhs-s into fragments, which will lead a life more and
more independent in each of the villages where they are settled,
/33/ combined with other elements. So for the division of the
Iseqqalen among several villages of the Idma country. It is true
621 that this dispersion does not go very far. Nevertheless there
794 exists a village solidarity, the most complete sign of which is
that of the existence of a timezgida: place of worship, if one
wishes, not only of an orthodoxy with a singular flavor, but also
794 a municipal circle. The timezgida unit is the one which, with
162 very rare anomalies, might be the best to give information on
634 the average quota of agglomerations in the different cantons.
Thus in a. H'adduyws, 21 mosques give an average of 125 inhabitants grouped together. Even this result is appreciably twisted by the existence of two bourgs, Tasa and Fensu, with 300 to 400 inhabitants each. At Idma, 13 agglomerations, one a bourg of nearly 500 inhabitants, Usikis; the average is 160 inhabitants. The only bourg of the a. Mh'nd has some 600 inhabitants: but this is, for it alone, one taqbilt. The Imt'ddan and the a. Musa do not reach 100 inhabitants agglomerated together on the average. In general fashion, as one sees, these units are very small. The problems of structure that this poses will be taken up again. For the moment let us consider two impressions that can draw some vividness from a comparison with other milieus.

342 An invincible association of ideas links for us the notion of
333 architecture in stone to that of duration, and also of magnificence (1).

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1. Cf. reflections of Vidal de La Blache, Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, on architecture of earth (adobe), p. 150, and of stone, pp. 150 and 154 sq. He sees in the connection of cultivation on terraces and architecture in stone an essentially Mediterranean matter (p. 156).

1: Berque--56 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 39 in the original source./

102
634
131

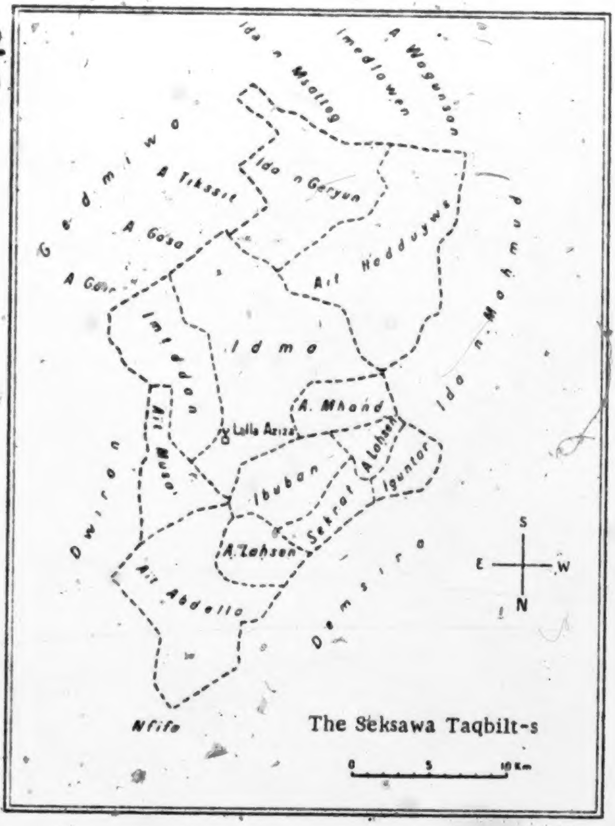
Ida n Msallag
Imedlowen
A. Wagunsan
Gedmiwa
A. Tikssit
Ido n Geryun
A. Gosa
A. Gmr
Ait Hadduyws
Idmedn
Imteddan
Idma
Ida n Mahmud
A. Mhand
Lalla Aziza
Ait Musai
A. Lahsen
Ibuban
Iguntar
Dwiran
Sekrat
A. Lahsen
Ait Abdella
Demsira
Nfifa
S
E
W
N
The Seksawa Taqbilt-s
0
5
10 Km

Fig. 4. -- The Taqbilt-s, cantonal division of the Seksawa ensemble

/40 cont./
551 that it does not have several Bihi u Âli, several Âddi u Bella.
The combinations of these binomials, where the grandeur of the
theophorous Semitic names falls away in familiar abbreviations,
613 all in simple vowels, are poor in scale. It is true that, in contrast
to the Arab country, the *ikhs* always has its designation.
551 This gentilic is generally evocative and sonorous. Its richness
and its solidity contrast with the banality of the *praenomen*,
pretty much like the Latin system, but with the difference that
the surname, *laqab*, so common in Arab country, is very rare
here.

613 According to the milieu in which they move, the order of
ideas to which the speakers refer, larger and larger concentric
circles, if I may venture to say it, of identification are effected.
● [634] All that one can affirm is that the name of the *ikhs* avoids all
ambiguity and, in order to be intelligible, refers to nothing other
than the political unit, the *taqbilt*. Therefore, from the first
step of this inquiry, the force of the *ikhs* manifests itself. And,
simultaneously, other items of evidence, of juridical order or
arising in the movements of daily life: cooking, agriculture,
comings and goings of each one, establish just as irrecusably the
fact that the individual person affirms a totally independent performance,
at least in civil life. Perhaps the present stage has
driven back into a modest background ancient solidarities drawing
their reason for being from war and rapine. The former organization
of the *patres* or "ait Arbâin" is also one of the things about
which people no longer like to speak. But nonetheless the impression
asserts itself that, if the *ikhs* is a cadre essential for an
understanding of this civilization, of its history, of its fundamental
structures, of its magico-religious substrata, of its continuity
in all domains, it yields in the mores to the autonomy of
the conjugal family, to the aggressive vitality of the individual.

/41/

IV. Cantonal Personalities

133

Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
• 634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
(619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously "knotted," agg^{W}mi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og,
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkssit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain
among the Ud Besseba^{c} Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the
month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra, in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Ali, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[778] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Gəryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Âli, an unidentified
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
• 634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[772] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous:
Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Âli, the valley is closed by a
wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tassyut and the
Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tam-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
[778] Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the asif
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi't-tuffâh, "the river of
the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Âli.
These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[173] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[824] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
[437] shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, asemlal, perhaps
indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree,
[226] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
[824] and bushes, among them the "briar," tikhfert. Rich in freshness,
color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sek-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "opuntia,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some instruc-
tive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Rekto and
Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of
Igersafen. Another country, that of the a. H'adduyws, starts
there.

[Idaw Geryun]
619 [Ait H'adduyws]

131 /42 cont./
634 The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the
613 branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper de-
[217] scendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth
century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish im-
[127] portant information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133 One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right
101 bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters.
634 Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the
487 height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-
bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws:
[721] whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times.
The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached,
the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the hori-
zon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least
of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed
3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersa-
fen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a
fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the
I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the
grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of
the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor
is going to be concerned.

133 The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is
101 now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens
634 into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of
[769] the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint,
or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from
[349] whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic
[776] snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to
[197] impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxy-
tone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide.
173 Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has
camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the moun-
tains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its
lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to
a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into
Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the
whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great
history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard in-
trigue of late epoch.

133 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the
101 outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the
634 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration
of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide
ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a
street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac
of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is
seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the
[443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it,
however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tig-
[778] guga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi
Âbdallah u Sâid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last
[484] village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from
this village to Imintanout.

In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative
abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed.
166 Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But
619 immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without vio-
lence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus con-
634 stituted has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular
619 house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at
[342] the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the
Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the
old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the
purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of
livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more
634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined,
173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong
619

/44 cont./
173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet,
secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they
remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa,
from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
[613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Im-
material factors, whose action on these montagnards should not
be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force
attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten,
but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
(2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
175 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
166 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
167 coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying
populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N.
From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate
toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men:
a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an open-
ing, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the
terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one
might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent direc-
tions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread
out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coin-
cides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619

101 /45 cont./

184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
● 634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
133 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
101 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannâmmert, "the
634 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
361 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with
619 that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
173 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
101 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
634 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
619 Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great
[538] ancestors who built the countries bnan timizar, an expression of substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five ikhs-s
[613] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water
[312] and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life, with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
184 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
619 taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar
[181] and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgurzatin.
After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the [illegible] Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
634 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
619 Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collective
agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phenomena
619 where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important because
of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison between
a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain

619
634
101 This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
175 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
181 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
[166]

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./
634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
133 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
241 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
101 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet
634 in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds
[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
● 634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of
the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen,
characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
361 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
101 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
634 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation
619 descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to
the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws
village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The
Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course.
Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic
formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or
pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to downstream
is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which
is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of
fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the
difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality, since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jjgit, gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ât, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most important
● 634 sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme
sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary
to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate
at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza". In modern
634 times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-optation,
619 the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have remained
634 for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious
aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen

174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
131 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, between
101 which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[233] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
[184] tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines de-
scending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful
[184] steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
101 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
634 variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
● 634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
634 peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape.
[134] Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than
in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there.
The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa
/Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered
with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of
the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[241] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the
end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges.
Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A
feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
726 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise
619 on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Âbderrah'man u
Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage be-
tween the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir
[712] n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
• 634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of
a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered sym-
metrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, be-
fore touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a
well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
101 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
634 "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[487] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that
[776] founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of
the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the
holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
(2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
175 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
726 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
619 driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place
during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
/52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these
lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto,
formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Be-
[132] tween the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything
away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
[172] half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little 101 ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to 634 the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamezgurt, [172] picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its timezgida, [361] prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchkrir, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S.S.W.-N.N.E., shuts off to 133 the east. The impression of severity increases when one penetrates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, 172 obstructed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of 634 Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with ruins, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an undoubtedly abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same as Jjgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tannsmekht lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the [103] malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all this region, reveals former bucolic mores: from Wanchkrir, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," i-yggiz, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, /53/ itself unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Amlal i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the sand of the generous." [795] Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the zaouia of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country, or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

184 A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa
101 Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those
634 from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately
lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday,"
361 Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five
101 square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four
agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream:
634 the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the
619 knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi
family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between
a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation.
Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased
anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi
y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of
[776] saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi
[778] Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is
to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the
troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of
asylum of Z'init'.

133 The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological
nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen
101 toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them
634 toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops
called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Aiṭ Musa]

619 /53 cont./

● 634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of
too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the
small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to advantage
619 by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs,
the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable
history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides
by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not outlive
such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next,
become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having
wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of
the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of
asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the
[426] saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from
above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that
[181] he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and
of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins.
At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed
completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talʿaint.
This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a
blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u ʿAbderrah'man. In fact, it has
more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following
the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 101 634 619 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws, Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by the ikhs of the Ichiyyâan. It is the one that installed the people of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Âbdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'âjj Bujmâ u Âbderrah'man, from Talâint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/

Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133 101 634 [137] The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Âli (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on 778 [792] all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal site, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

[241] Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, for- [794] merly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/

The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Âbdella

● 634
101
619

Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to

634
175
726
619

the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul^{c}wân, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

[Ait Abdella]

/*56 cont.*/

● 634 181 619 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart, Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an *amghar* of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Everything here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion has most profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems, its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the downstream. The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the free *taqbilt*-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the one of the Mérinides, is still distinguished here. From the confluent of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of commercial passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of monumental ruins.

133 634 [241] From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets, risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens: the "out-orchard" *Berra* *n-rryat*' of Tuz'z'umt, the "background" *Luljt* of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bul^{c}wân. All of it periodically [312] ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguias /water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taâzzuzt, Tassebâit, Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops. These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homogeneous masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under the populations of laurels and *tillirin*, in what the habitués recognize as an "odor of paludism."

241 /*57*/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but [312] luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

[Ait Abdella]

241 /57 cont./
312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt séguia,
irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
361 Like Bul^{c}wân, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable
and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
133 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
●634 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched,
opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi
Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
(137) The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a
former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned
today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent
is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains
in the hands of the a. Âbdalla. The latter still hold a section of
the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.

It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An intermediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded fragments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the dew," and Talâint, the valley is encased between vertical quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam. They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags. Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the moun-
241 tains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species recall the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburiin and Talâint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate trees enliven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time, all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for crops.

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[776] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Regraga
of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
[792] Igerwal -- come between a. Âbdella and a. Musa. The characteristics
of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very
expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one
world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort,"
Tansmert wugadirr there a wall of stone seeming to close the
valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô,"
just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these
names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more
characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated
by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which
there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows
who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this
is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot
where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology,
besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of
transition with the people of Tuz'z'ụmt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will
[167] see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants;
and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills extend
their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
131 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran
634 domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the
original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of
brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or
even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pastureland
between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge
634 ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut'
n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

[Ait Abdella]

133 /58 cont./
634 in fact, is not far away: the true Seksawa world, or rather that which has remained such, is going to begin.

128 But our rapid description of the country, and of its cantonal personalities, has followed a contrary order. Inversely of the modern explorer or Arab chronicler, it began by departing from on high, by descending from the Tichka. It would be better to do this: the Seksawa mountain is completely a house that one understands better from the interior. With the a. Abdella, we have arrived here, by way of a corridor with multiple quirks, in the vestibule, which looks out on the plain. And since the plain is not, or is no longer, a part of this history, let us stop the exploration here.

/59/

V. Historical Backgrounds

175 One does not write history with nothing. But this "nothing" can itself be historical. This is the case for the Seksawa. Since the end of the fourteenth century, the chronicles have remained silent about them. Barely a few comments, brief and far apart. Nothing, or almost, on the two centuries and a half that preceded the period accessible for the first information gathered on the spot by the Europeans. Nothing from the outside at least. This life retired within itself. Previously it had known greater ambitions and, correlatively, gave rise to several testimonies, including the one of a great historian. A few lines from this past are thus distentangled.

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Characteristics of the Past of the Seksawa (1)

1. We have tried to disentangle these principal lines in a work: "Antiquités Seksawa /Seksawa Antiquities/," Hesp., 1953, which it seemed to us preferable to publish separately. Not only by reason of exigencies of economy in printing, but also and especially because these "Antiquités" present a conjectural character or rest

/60 cont./
174 some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, improverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

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174 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only
175 thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the
realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce, and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an
619 unhoped-for richness.

● 634 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins.
128 No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key
to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the differ-
613 ent ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competi-
173 tion of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications.
619 The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they
/61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/61 cont./

613 no less withstand a rigorous critique: indeed, the critique that
173 springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of vehement
619 claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular objectivity. Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose than the dry chronology.

173 Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is
619 today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the sacred place
[101] of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the eponymous hero Amer u H'addô, historic personage of the fourteenth century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and that of the *agellid*-s. One of their branches, the a. Sefyan, in the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is its name a fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with the Sofyân of the plain? How precious this fossil would be!...

[423] In many cases, the *initium* of the arable lands, that is to say, the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, moreover, is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship with those whom they call *Baba Âmer* and who lay claim, with general consent, to their quality of Seksawa of pure stock.

● 634 How can a whole *taqbilt*, that of the a. H'adduyws, which it-
613 self interprets its name as "son of H'addô son of Y'ûsuf," reconcile
619 this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of diverse origins for each of the *ikhs*-s that compose it, and almost none of which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarcely retain any positive content any more. And, on the other hand, it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the *ikhs*, amenable to precise successoral connections, and the political cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

/63 cont./

166 /footnote 1 continued/ in its relations with the
very large demographic movements of the Mo-
roccan South. Cf. R. Montagne, collective re-
search on the Naissance du Prolétariat marocain
/Birth of the Moroccan Proletariat/, pp. 43 sq.
The unpublished study, Arch. CHEAM, by La
Porte des Vaux on the a. Wawzgit establishes the
importance of this factor of heterogeneity in the
structure of the populations. Same remarks in
000 de Barré on the a. Yah'ya of the Sous. In a dif-
ferent domain, the Fezzan, the patient analysis
by J. Despois has shown the extraordinary com-
plexity of these origins, "Mission scientifique au
Fezzan /Scientific Mission in the Fezzan/," Géographie humaine, 1946, pp. 241 sq. Al-
ready Ed. Doutté, "Figuig," Bulletin de la
société de géographie d'Oran, 1903, p. 186;
Aug. Bernard, Les confins algéro-marocains
/The Algero-Moroccan confines/, 1911, p. 81,
etc., had been struck by the same fact. And
even before them H. Duveyrier, Les Touareg du
Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, notes in
many Saharan towns the diversity of origin of
"quarters" and the role it plays in the politics of
Ghadamés, Mourzouk, Ouargla, In Salah, the
bourgs of the Touat, etc.

166 They even bring to it, provided that you have obtained their con-
829 fidence, some coquettishness. Obligingly, they take to pieces
634 the complex aggregate of the taqbilt for you. Classic conversa-
521 tion for the evening! They tell you in detail how the parties
linked today were grouped in terms of places and circumstances.
They do not even omit the anecdote for you. One feels that
their snobbism is not to lay claim to an Arab or sherifian

/63 cont./

166 829 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far, when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 829 182 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 613 621 173 619 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradition. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

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/64 cont./

Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into subgroups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Châib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.	619 634 632 613 621 173
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.	[166]
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.	

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Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins	
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.		
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.	
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous.	[166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.	
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.	
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin.	[792] [166]

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are
619 printed in small type./ The one of the a. Âbdella (1).

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Âbdelâ, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ^{c}Abd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous
[167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction
turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different
ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is
complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil-
[175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain,
in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all
173 during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it
that the a. Âbdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here.
634 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread
619 out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the
Seksawa, up to Bul^{c}wân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a.
Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 In the case of the a. Âbdella, whose whole history indicates
634 vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost
[178] many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into
subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is
621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the
[613] mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of
which has its legend of origin.

[Ait Abdella]

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Villages	Names of ikhs and traditional origin
Bul^{c}wân	a. Lkhil, came from Tiddrarin (Sous) by way of Sidi Âli Iz'm (Dwiran). a. Si Mh'and, "companions" of the first ones. a. Sidi Ghânem, descendants of the saint, who has another tomb in H'âh'a. It would have originated from the Ud Âzzûz (Ud. Bessebâ^{c}). a. Wammern, descendant of the saint (Ammeln). a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira). a. u Feryad' (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Bihi u Sâid (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. Belh'âjj (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. u Sâid Bennaçer (Jews converted by the Nâçirî?). a. Naçer, came from the a. Wagenna (Seksawa). a. Benjâa, came from Tizzgi (Gedmiwa). a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al). a. Bujmâ u Âlla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga). Ichkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. Lâneyt, came from Iferks, in Intamlin (Mtugga). a. Lh'achum, from Imintanout (Nfifa). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern "marabouts" of Ammeln (Anti-Atlas). a. Lh'âjj (?). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Talat u Qyar	a. Sâid u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Bihi u Ali (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).

/See page 92 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

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/66 cont./

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas).
	a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bul^{c}wân.
	a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa).
	a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira).
	a. Mançur (Dwiran).
	a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
	a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
	a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
	a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts."
	Ih'naychen (Dwiran).
	a. Kawsir (Dwiran).
	a. Jâa (Dwiran).
	a. H'med (Dwiran).
	a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran).
	a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran).
	a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case

634 /In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disin-

[101] herited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of

[312] high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent

[142] streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type

[181] from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[Ibubanen]

619 634 /67 cont./

[142] [181] [173] pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634 184 101 619 1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the significant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by the immigrant Dukkâla (1).

> 1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I. pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. [648] The present group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Âbdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628] People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

• 634 184 101 166 619

2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

[778]

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a *maqâm* of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," *lʿâr*, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a *taqbilt*.

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 619 [173]

A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa *agellid*-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

● 634 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a
619 high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley
a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact pre-
634 sents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Âbdella,
632 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as
613 follows:

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Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-'Agadir.	Sidi Âmer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Âmer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And neverthe-
184 less in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has
101 maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the
619 "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Between them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa. This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Between them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' remains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The taqbilt-s still claim the old princely names of Musa and of Âbdallah. The mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the middle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger n-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Âbdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Ânono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, açl, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'âjj H'fid', a famous

174 487 619 /74 cont./

There exists a path called Tagharast i-ysseksawan (1), direct, but difficult communication between Usikis, original cradle of Idma power, and the confluent of the two highest valleys, the "between rivers," Igersafen. Thus, while avoiding the great valley, the high Seksawa and the historical center of dispersion that one can locate on the North counterforts of the Tabgurt could communicate. This liaison with the archaic system of the Tichka is certainly very important.

It indicates an era when the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, because of hostile occupants or for some other reason, had to be avoided. One might consequently wonder if this axis, disregarding the river path and capable of leading to Lalla Aziza by way of the plateau of the Mzawt, was not anterior to the present political configurations.

If we put it in relation to the initial system of the Idma, straddling the Tassila, the Agersili basin, the Inraren Z'dinin plateau, and the ravines that radiate from it, this impression is reinforced. The Idma tradition has it that, at a certain time, [634] Idaw Geryun (we mean the oldest Seksawa, whom the ait D'alh'a still represent today) and Idma by turns elected a moqaddem yearly; the Tagharast permitted the direct displacement of the jemâa-s to the place of the election. However that may be, beyond the articulation of a geographical complex that history confirms, we can quite legitimately imagine that the settling of the Idma must have been authorized by the patronage of the former

1. Another Tagharast leads from the zaouia of Ammern to the a. Musa by disregarding the river valley. There are other examples of these "reserve" paths, the existence of which undoubtedly expresses phases of rivalry between populations ruling the river and populations ruling the forest. But we know too little of the past of the Atlas to get further involved on a course nevertheless indeed suggestive.

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/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

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On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

> 1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabîh'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/," Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[127] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

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The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Tazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

[Imt'ddan]

/79 cont./

174 probably, had been chased from it by the saint. Morocco's past
166 is full of these geographical movements, following a kind of
619 ideological eruption over a given point.

The first habitat was Tamt'ddit, not far from the forested crest that separates the Seksawa from the Dwiran. On the col itself is seen a "mansion," tarrut', of the saint of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. From there the immigrants turned toward the main valley by a movement homologous to the one of their future Idma allies. Thus they too had to fight the ait Gasa. Moreover, they became ministers of Lalla Aziza. For the operations of their public life, they met above Tamt'ddit, at the place called /80/ Assarag (Agoni), a replica of the Inraren Z'dinin of
174 of the Idma. They elected two moqaddem-s yearly, and the
175 chronicle has faithfully listed the succession of the most striking
● 634 of these chiefs. /The following listings are in small type in the
original source./
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Âbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, of Tamt'ddit, in 1002 Heg.: 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lâgid.
Naçer u Âli.
Âli Wah'man (a. Igejder of Tamt'ddit), then his son Sâid.

At this time the political power of the Imt'ddan, whose curve had classically evolved toward tyranny, was in the hands of a great amghar, Messâud u Jâa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (died 1270 Heg. = 1861). He chased the a. Gasa from their last haunt, Tidli, in the Afuzar. He spread into Dwiran and Indmaghus. He secured for himself a great many pieces of land, which the taqbilt will will divide for itself into nine lots in 1277, for he died without male children, which is a just punishment.

Then they returned to the elected moqaddem, and these are successively:

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messâud u Lah'sen, brother of Aferyad'.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./

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Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.

Here now are two documents from annals.

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[619]
The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal. The jemʕa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits. After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original source/:

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"their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adʕq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

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The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs follows.

At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'ʕjj Bujmʕ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messʕud Bwizgw-man, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.

619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istir^{c}â'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

[634] In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only
[578] the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.

[731] "The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâlî of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the
619 Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâîd, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the
epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time
that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the
619 mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ^{c}uthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ^{c}Abd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, *Notes sur les Tekna* /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, *op. laud.*, at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and
619 Mençur.
● 634 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity,
[776] guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is extreme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed
[181] here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young, vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

It[A] is divided as follows:

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Traditional ancestor	Sub-groups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
	a. Daud.	a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
		a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

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/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

[A], [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

/106 cont./

312 648 619 ● [634] [628] Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran and the Ud Bessebā^c is found in a. Abdella, at least for most of them. The relations with the Ud Bessebā^c, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wādī'l-Qīhra and the Ud Bessebā^c being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Bessebā^c, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the prince had to intervene. 631 312 619 Not far away, this was the case between Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran. Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taḍdert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Ābdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ *tillirin* (1).

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, *ikrirs* (a. Ābdella), or *ikri* (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

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1. *Inula viscosa*.

/111 cont./
246 prohibiting cutting or opening the ag^{w}mi constitutes an important
675 event in village life (2).

[171] 2. A good description of the Kabyle "summer pasturages," of the prohibition against cutting them, etc., all very analogous to our ag^{w}mi, in M. Rémond, Djurjura, terre de contraste /Djurdjura, land of contrast/, 1940, p. 221 sq. It will be instructive to compare these Maghrebi practices with the same Pyrenean practices: for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon/, 1891, p. 253: it is a matter of the devèse, "place removed from common enjoyment" (cf. Chleuh /Shluh/: ag^{w}dal).

246 Any transgression is punished by an "amende," /112/ az'z'ayn.
675 The pasturage agreements are among the essential circumstances
●634 of the external law of the groups. Thus the Tichka, summer
pasturage, bitterly disputed between tribes, has doubtlessly animated for a very long time leagues and ententes, "lies et passeries" (as our Pyreneans say), which mark this history. It was
[175] the subject of a pact between a. H'adduyws and Idma in 1701.
Even when the debate reaches the military or judiciary plane, that is to say, in cases of tension between groups, a rural order also acts, with an importance that one can measure by thinking of the vital necessities that it takes care of. It only rarely gives
675 rise to writing, because it is of a different plane. One will be
more surprised consequently that the ententes for transhumance,
221 although coming out of this international law, refer still today
178 to unseizable conventions and unnamed laws so much the stronger
as their inconsistency and their unilaterality are now discovered

/*113 cont.*/

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Practice of the *agg*^{w}*mi*, "pasture in defense"

Name of the *taqbilt*	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snowfall to a *yulyuz* date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'adduyws.	Tasa.	Amerdul.	March-July.	Custom of the *talddrar*.
	Fensu.	Aziwal.	--	
Iguntar. a. Lh'sen. a. Mh'nd.	The ensemble.	Talburt n-H'sayn.	--	
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	Custom of the *talddrar*.
Imt'ddan.	Ad'erd'ur.	Tasila.	--	
	Anchkrir.	Inraren Z'dinin.	--	
	Tasselli.	Tameksut.	--	
	The ensemble.	Afuzar.	--	

221 233 241 [634] This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/113 cont./
221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-
241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
● [634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go
as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/
or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and
Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[361] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the
[346] form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products
and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly
[262] marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this
form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the
neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-
duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the
shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed
further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/,
on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts
that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the
pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-
making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-
[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for cer-
tain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.
[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of
the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but
according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called
transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain
herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions
of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless
constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a considerable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the
bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

/117 cont./
571 we are far from such emotional intensity). It is generally some
431 loaves of sugar as a gift and occasionally, depending upon the
233 importance of the parties and interests in question, a head of
221 small livestock. Over and above that, the appreciable counterpart
of the manure. All the collective and individual varieties
appear in the relations of proximity thus established. They last
several months between the partners, while the shepherd alone
[634] remains fixed. The owner makes only periodic appearances. A
"good shepherd," like the amghar of the Haut Seksawa still at
present, multiplies his visits: inspection tours, patriarchally
joined with proceedings of agreement and friendship. Another
such, from the I. Geryun, married an Ud Besseba^c girl and thus,
through love of his flock, did not hestitate to submit himself
to the troublesome subtleties of the notariate of the plain any
more than to risk the experience of an Arab marriage. All these
relations are in fact marked with a good nature doubtlessly inherent
in the pastoral life, since, long after the pre-Islamic poets,
it further wrings from the moderns the most lyric of descriptions.

174 The winter movement, affecting especially the Haut Seksawa,
221 proceeds on these Pyrenean or Alpine models which, although
decadent and no longer achieving the amplitude of former
233 times, are nonetheless repeated all around the Mediterranean.
Here the reasons are probably above all historic and are related
to the exceptional density of life that the Atlas has preserved
above the warm and steppe plains. Since the Moroccan lower
Middle Ages, these plains have been the theater of much larger
pastoral migrations, like that of the Sofyān from the Sous to the
Haouz and to the Chaouïa. The contact between these two
rhythms, when the two confront each other still in the pure state,
in the fourteenth century, for example, must have produced
political and cultural interferences. The "alliances" noted by
[571] the chroniclers between montagnards and Hilalians or Ma^{c}qil, to
the N. as well as to the S. of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, were
[171] probably of this order. It has been observed elsewhere, in the
Pyrenees, for example, to what point /118/ these relations of
plain to mountain, the most important of which is the one that

/118 cont./

174 the pastoral exchanges establish, have acted on the political
221 structures. That is, in the epochs when these movements of
233 flocks reached an amplitude as considerable as from the Sous to
171 the Gharb, for example, did an organization comparable to that of the Spanish mesta arise? There is nothing of it. Whether the trait be old or new, we find nothing in Morocco that resembles the prodigious institutional life that for five centuries developed in Spain around these migrations (1).

1. Let it suffice for us, on this point, to refer to the masterly work of Julius Klein, La Mesta, Barcelona, 1936, in which the vast Mediterranean correspondences of the phenomenon described have not been overlooked. The Spanish case no less presents a great originality, as much by its geographical scope as by the colossal historical organization that it reveals, and which is of unilateral advantage in many respects for the shepherd. The contemporary period reacts against this privilege. There is nothing more enlightening than to compare the map of pp. 34-35, a map of the routes of transhumance and of the vast official placings in defense, or dehesas, with what could be reconstituted of a medieval Maghrebi stage.

221 In the present stage, we see here only unwritten relations,
233 plunging into a haziness that little by little the evolution of the
571 whole country belies. The migratory route does not have a firm basis, the relations between shepherds and cities are not clearly
634 delineated, and, all the more reason, no magistrature, like that of the Spanish entregador, comes to specify the matter. Not only does the Moroccan transhumance rest at the stage of unwritten tradition and discourage codification, but it is not at the level, or is no longer at the level, of the technique of purely cantonal

221 /118 cont./
233 or intercantonal agreements, placings in defense, for ex-
571 ample.
634 It nonetheless reveals an old order (2).

[171] 2. It should be noted that in Spain the origin of the mesta is very obscure and that certain authors have even attributed it to the influence of the Berbères /Berbers/. Cf. J. Klein, La Mesta, p. 19.

Of prelaw, if one wishes. In the case of the Seksawa and of their neighbors of the western Haut Atlas, this order somehow or other
174 survived the accidents of history. To the natural determinisms of
648 snowfall, pluviometry, and insolation, on the whole governing the nutritional possibilities of the pasture on the heights, are added phenomena of another order: the event that bolted the past of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa and, by that, strangled the old agricultural rhythm; the frequentation, more and more vehement and finally permanent, of the plain by the Arab tribes. The node of all these facts is placed in the second half of the fourteenth century. This was doubtlessly one of the key phases of Maghrebi history. Decisive in any case for the Maçmûda. But inasmuch as a patient analysis of /119/ mediocre and dispersed elements, and the good fortune of texts, will not permit us to form a more exact idea of them, one will know nothing of what the relations were between the natives and the new arrivals, the incidence of one on the other, and the fashion in which the real history of the country was made or unmade -- it comes to the same thing -- at the time.

Continuities

133 It is evidently the submeridian direction of the Seksawa that constitutes the geographical axis of this society. Both path of descent and of penetration, the torrent, through its main bed and
[634] the affluent ravines, by degrees up to the last cells of the mountain cadre, airs and vivifies the whole. The fractioning of the

/119 cont./

133 fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds
● 634 to both a logical classification and to a physical division of
landscape (1).

[171] 1. Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.).

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

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634 One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain

/119 cont./

121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase
of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

648 Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
619 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
133 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
[571] the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean re-
[137] minder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain,
here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs,
have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) ...

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/126 cont./

241 Only the quarter has a personality, in the toponymy as in the
landscape. But it is not united by appropriation, unless one sets
it up as a "collective field," which one could not do without
[423] abusing the expression. The parcels that are discerned there indeed
arise from a molecular ownership, if I may venture to say
it. But they hardly have any topographical existence. They are
only crumbs of patrimony.

Divisions and Organs of the Field

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423 Quite abstract as it may be, this fractioning plays its role.
But its strength is not tied to a material demarcation, to the
consistency of an area. It is connected rather to a verbal affinity.
Such and such parcels, dispersed within the ground, are
reputed to be the legitimate portion of such and such a family.
[691] This qualification is their only defense. There is nothing more
striking at the time of legal disputes over boundaries. What is
affirmed in the procedure is not the concrete value of a limit, it
[171] is, so to speak, the autonomy of a cell. Quite a difference from
the Mediterranean type of the fundus. These parcels are defined
less by a spatially determined cadre than by the fitting in of one
having rights among others having rights. Aided by the modicity
of the areas, the identification of each is not local, but onomastic.
The names subdivide a quarter, which is itself a division of
● [634] the ground. Similarly the taqbilt is divided into subgroups,
which are subdivided into families. Toponymy and anthroponymy
are thus combined to form, with the help of other factors, a
diversified and tiered system which is defined by the hold of
verbal classifications on pieces of country, by the association of
names with pieces of ground.

Let us grip more closely the identity of this patrimonial cell that the parcel represents. In general, it is a minuscule quadrilateral inserted among a multitude of others and defined by this very insertion. Its area is of a modicity that is astounding.

/135 cont./
241 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has
796 fallen into disuse. One is called only bab llkhir, that is to say,
gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed
by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation,"
241 etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait
796 of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an
619 enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following
634 enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original
184 source./

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the
Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin,
the old a. Châib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no
[525] discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations.
On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried
[782] to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood
[787] runs, the omen is good.

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the
Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the moun-
[782] tain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

Rektu wasif: the a. Âbdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uâziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general
[784] initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed
to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the
lqâleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium
for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as
[784] above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the
linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

241 The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the *initium* for putting water in
796 the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Mon-
619 day: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this
634 day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of
189 Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma
[613] had remained without rain; others say seven years. The *ikhs*-s
took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the
turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the
present practice. The *ikhs*-s that open the tillage in the other
villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi
Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a.
Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] On the morning of the *yenneyr*, battle between *ikhs*-s by
[613] blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irriga-
tion: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of *amâchur*.
[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.
[578] Umâli. Aspersions between *ikhs*-s on the morning of amâchur;
[262] dinner of porridge the night of the *innair*.

[613] Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; ir-
rigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir-
[578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning
[262] of the *amâchur* and of the porridge the night of the *Yenneyr*;
[541] battle by blows with clumps of grass.

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation:
619 ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest
● 634 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj
[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigummа n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:
[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these
241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that
796 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very
fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./
121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation,
in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
613 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
●634 the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner.
[184] The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material
or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the components
of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation appears
between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular
vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but
also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen
as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but
one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.
[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow particularizations,
on the scale of the hamlet, for example, lmud'a,
acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political
life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolutions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Nevertheless
[954] the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has
nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered populations. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have become inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

/154 cont//

312 613 423 vast intermediate areas that separate them. It is discontinuous in space. It makes the turn of each of the *ikhs*-s alternate in time and makes it come again according to a periodicity peculiar to each group. This rhythm is naturally a function of the abundance of the debit expected, of the number of the *ikhs*-s and of local preferences for such and such a series.

/The following listing is in small type in the original source./ 1st. The last village downstream to apply this system is Tuz'z'umt. At Tuz'z'umt, in fact, and for that of at least two séguias peculiar to it (the Targa n-Z'alt, from Agawz), the distribution operates in 12 turns of one day each (from *^{c}açr* to *^{c}açr*), allotted among the *ikhs*-s. The other séguia, the gigantic Talh'archt, common to all the a. Abdella, obeys other principles. But from Tuz'z'umt upstream, the gentilitial distribution prevails.

And here are some striking examples, borrowed from the Haut Seksawa.

2nd. In Iguntar there are 9 séguias. That is to say, from upstream to downstream:

t. n-yattuyn, t. n-bu teghradin, t. uzeddar, t. n-ddutgumma, t. ugerd ugadir, t. n-a. Mh'nd u Mh'nd, t. n-tghula, t. u-wrti n-H'chmad, t. n-tawart.

[525 634] The irrigation turn is decided by "drawing lots," *s-tekchchut't'*, in the presence of the whole *jemâa*, among the members representing each of the *ikhs*-s. This drawing takes place each year. The length of the turns is proportional to a surface evaluated in lengths of reeds, and whose computation is periodically readjusted. An old document -- such at least is its appearance and the inference that its content authorizes, for it is not dated -- mentions probably the last of these computations. The merrymaking that followed cost about 50 reals advanced by notables. The division, which still prevails at present, of the water roster into 12 days, accruing unequally to each of the *ikhs*-s, is fixed very precisely in the document.

But the properties of each of the benefiting *ikhs*-s are entangled with those of the others. No correspondence between the topography and the rhythm of distribution.

/176 cont./

000 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "Once there was a child who went out each day. And the first object that he looked at, he became this object; the sprouts of the fields, in April and May, became a part of him, the sprouts of winter grain and those of the bright yellow maize . . ." (1).

1. Walt Whitman.

But, beyond the field, there is the mountain. The grandeur of the cadre discourages all mediocrity. The narrowness of the canton forces man to adventure. But let us not go on imagining these contrasted feelings. Later, perhaps, people from here will write a literature of escape, the very one that the barbarian scholar and the emigrant worker now live in their fashion...

/177/

IV. Some Analyses of Grounds

A) Montagnard classicism: the ait Mh'nd

312 [634] /All of Chapter IV is in small type in the original source./ The a. Mh'nd, with Iguntar, Wanz'id', and Iwulla, are one of the cantons backed up to the abrupt barrier which, to the S., separates the Seksawa world from the Sous. From the escarpment gush perennial waters, though subject to estival diminution. Those of the a. Mh'nd, the most abundant, form a torrent that never dries up, which descends, under the walnut trees, toward Ad'erd'ur, the zaouia of Ammern, and ends up by rejoining the main valley at Tabratjut. Its opening is sometimes difficult, thus below the former village of the a. Irz'z'i, whose name, close to the root rz', "to be broken," has given rise to an etymological pun inspired by the ruiniform aspect of the rock at this place; the a. Irz'z'i, in a struggle with the Idma, are said to have had their village shattered by a miraculous collapse. Farther upstream, almost immediately below the sources, a basin spreads out: this is

[Ait Mh'nd]

/177 cont./

312 the ground of the a. Mh'nd. The sources, Walmdeyn, Talâint
n-tauddwa, t. waman i-ygadern, suffer a diminution of 75%
during very dry summers, such as the one of 1951. But this is ex-
ceptional. Generally the fall is not so great. A basin, Tafrawt
[illegible]-lma, collects them and distributes them, by an ample sys-
tem of séguias, to a mass of well-worked fields. The lively
waves, the glacial shade of the walnut trees, and the profusion
of greenery make a charming coppice in the most torrid of sum-
133 mers. The village, where the ikhs-s each have their quarter,
(361) faces the mountain and towers over the mowed meadows, az'mu,
[613] a theater wholly denoting an active and original community life:
it is there that people dance and assemble. Dominated, as has
been seen, on the side of the Sous by the E.S.E.-W.N.W. barrier
of the Ighran, from the Tabgurt (3,205) to the Akyud' n-Zkkat';
communicating toward the S.-E. with the Idma and the a. H'ad-
duyws only by the Tizi Wudud, which opens on the plateaus of
the Amerdul; with the Ibuban highlands by the Tizi Unluf; with
the Seksawa by a valley with numerous constrictions, this canton
has been able to develop an extreme individuality.

General Characteristics of the Population

634 It refers to a former immigration from, it is said, the Ilalen
613 (Sous). But among the ikhs-s inhabiting the village today, only
312 two, the a. Bakhkha and the a. Umghar, go back to this origin.
(173) Each of the two forms the essential part of two subgroups: a.
Zbayr, a. Wajmirro, a duality in which the taqbilt finds tension
and internal equilibrium. /178/ To these two ikhs-s are respectively added, but with less dignity and without autonomy in the irrigation distributions, four other lineages of immigrants. The organization of the ensemble presents itself as follows, as the irrigation roster expresses it, with a clearness free of ethnological preoccupations, certainly, but forced to exactitude by its practical incidences.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634
613
312

General division of the group	Subdivision into basic ikhs-s	ikhs-s superadded	Origin of the superadded ikhs-s	Turn for water
a. Zbayr.	a. Umghar.			One day.
	a. u Mbark.			Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. Abdnnûr.			
a. Wajmirru.	a. Mençur.	a. Umzil.	a. H'ogg^{w}a expelled from Fensu a century ago.	Three days, two of which for each of the partners alternatively.
	a. H'sayn.	a. Lamin.	Demsira from Iguntar.	
		Imzilen.	Came from the Wijjan two centuries ago.	
		a. Lkut'ayn.	Ibuban.	
	a. Bakhkha.			One day.

312 N.B. The basin, called Chcharij ddu-lma, functions only from the rising to the setting of the sun. The irrigation roster covers eight days.

Below, we shall find other details on the irrigation. Let us
[613] observe here and now that the order is rigorously gentilitial. The
634 adjunction of new elements, although of an antiquity sometimes
613 exceeding a century, has not at all influenced the dualist structure
173
669

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral,
the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Ânunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Âbdesslam b. Âbdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their
lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[177] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Âbdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Bessebâ^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 133 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis. [361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 312 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a principal intake, *açder*, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 613 423 619 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A first analysis registers their subdivision into six great *ikhs*-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of *ikhs*, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{w}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great *ikhs* of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great *ikhs* of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 619 613 [162]

This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it occupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33 ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 persons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis, three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One, the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 423 242 312 [T26]

This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calculable, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

/199 cont./

423 178 consequence of which has been to accentuate the differences in level among those having rights. This differentiation, working in a milieu with a precarious economy, has reacted on the vitality of the subject and on the rural countryside.

D) The basin of Tabratjut

● 634 133 This is the domain of the a. Musa of upper Ufella, just downstream from the parvis of Lalla Aziza. This location, too accessible from the plain, too vulnerable to the mountain, which besieges rather than defends it, has re-echoed on the history of land.

175 634 648 Here there was a Babylonian captivity. The captives were the "caid" Lh'sen Chtittihi and his followers. Babylon was the place of asylum of Z'init'. The exile lasted about twenty years. It was only at the time of the pacification /200/ of 1927 that, at the demand of the French authorities, the a. Lh'sen withdrew from the conquered country, which was returned to the legitimacy. But it was to fall into a landed-property litigation concerning registering, fortunately settled in favor of the indigene by our Cour d'Appel /Court of Appeals/. In sum, for a generation, the a. Musa from above saw their Tabratjut ground delivered up without cessation to the usurpations of ancient type and of modern type; eviction by stamped paper threatened to succeed conquest by the sword. And they continued only by the understanding of the judge to escape ruin definitively.

312 The basin forms a series of tiered esplanades, according to
an arrangement of the river bed which is always found, although
in a fashion unequally clear and continuous, from the bottom to
the top of the Seksawa. On the Tabratjut side, the two lower
levels are marked by a vegetation with two contrasting shades,
expressing two planes of irrigation. Downwards, it is the "great
channel," targa imqqurn, coming from the river, and constant,
[628] but insufficient. Higher, at the base of the towering reliefs, it
is the séguia from Aduz (Haut Dwiran), but the use of which depends on the good will of these neighbors. Thus a whole part of

[Ait Musa Ufella]

634 /201/ The thing is remarkable, for, in addition, the a.
613 Musa have preserved a gentilitial organization all the more
[173] authentic and using archaisms since they include, as will be
seen, descendants of H'addo, legendary king of the Seksawa:
[423] the a. H'qqi, to whom the chiefs' family belongs. The

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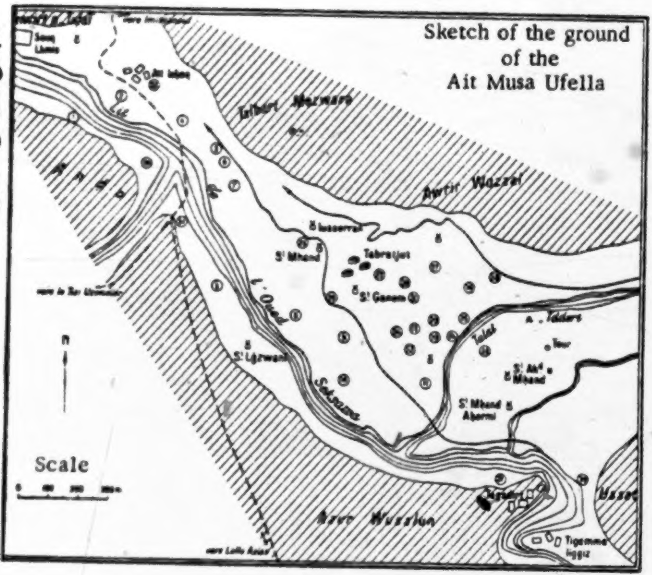
Sketch of the ground
of the
Ait Musa Ufella
Tabratjut
St Mhand
St Ganem
St Lgrwan
L'Oued
Seksawa
St Mhand Abermi
Tigemmi Iggiz
N
Scale

Fig. 9. -- The basin of Tabratjut (ait Musa Ufella).
The numbers refer to the names of quarters shown in the tables in the text. /vers, "toward"; Lit de l'Oued Seksawa, "Bed of the Seksawa Wadi."/

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/*201* cont./

634 property is not always distributed solely among these great *ikhs*-s,
613 4 in number, a. H'qqi, a. H'amed, a. Jjaw, a. Mzird'ad', but
423 among several *minor* *ikhs*-s, 14 in number. An order of distribution is evident here, and all the more since it asserts itself, being a matter of lineages not as large as the great *ikhs*-s, with a minutia pushed further than at Agersili, for example. The table below has grouped the number of parcels possessed by each family in each of the 33 quarters. /*202*/ /Table appears here./

423 /*203*/ 1) Cross-checking the parcellary rule gives only 51%
613 confirmation, if we consider the ensemble of the 14 families and
33 quarters. But a simple look at the table shows that the anom-
[128] aly is concentrated on the last three quarters and the last four families. If one leaves them aside, the rule is confirmed for more than 70%. That despite the local presence of a family of chiefs whose personal expansion goes back for three generations. And despite the vulnerability of the a. Musa to the causes of disaggregation of the montagnard system, and the principal ones of which originate from the plain and from the power of the plain. To what is this anomaly due? To the fact that the four participants given at the end of the list are, for two of them, a. Sh'aq, residual population, and, for the others, allogeneous. As for the three aberrant quarters, they are the ones served by a third séguia coming from the torrent of the a. Mh'nd: adjunction outside the system. Thus the structure is logical. And one will be apprised of its perfection even better if one accedes to the present explanation according to which it was the caid Chtittihi, father of the present *amghar*, who would have (thus about 1900) broken up the larger indivision, dispersing over the whole a. Musa section of valley the vocation of the different *ikhs*-s "from below and above," and set apart as their own for "those from above" only *ait Ufella*, the present sector. A vivification of the communitarian rule, an application pushed to an echelon more precise than that of the great *ikhs*-s have perhaps resulted from it. The re-establishment of the a. Musa on their ground brought about a rejuvenation of their structural law.

/209 cont./

182 On the other hand, this driven-back economy has sought in a very instructive fashion to survive: it is an albur /see p. 38/ island in the mountains, an island in dry mountains, a corner, one might say, of the Anti-Atlas. An equilibrium has been sought, not in the obstinate hydraulic work, because there is no water, but in the nonchalant exploitation of the almond tree and the opuntia. In sum, recourse to the harvest. Correlatively, the rhythm of life here is much less active than in the neighboring valleys. 181 Long chats in the /210/ sun, on the plaza of the timezgida, inertia and routine have deeply tarnished the local character. To that are added other characteristics, resulting from history, and the ensemble of which makes up a physiognomy of decadence. The communal order does not completely govern the division of the ground. The pasturage is appropriated. The absence of irrigation resources has driven this mountain population to a steppe culture. It is doubtlessly not by chance that, contrary to the atmosphere of the other cantons, inequality should have arisen from the inclemency of the conditions of life. This poor canton contains several "rich ones" and is still today, by an apparent paradox, the one that provides some of the biggest shares of the tax. Poverty and defeat here have broken up the communal order based on equality and obstinacy, and these miseries are only incompletely compensated for by the mysterious agricultural power of the "old people."

...F. Imt'ddan

613 [634] [166] The 4 Imt'ddan ikhs-s have swarmed from a metropolis, the present Tamt'ddit, to spread over a vast canton. Territorial expansion and social segmentation go hand in hand. Still today the tie between people and groups is by no means that of habitat by villages, but that of classification in one or another of the ikhs-s of origin. Nevertheless, the proliferation of the latter is starting to obscure the consciousness of the ensemble, and at the outset unanimity on the balance of the present subdivisions is no longer to be had.

[Imt'ddan]
[Bul^{c}wân]

613 /211/ Undoubtedly one observes a certain differentiation be-
621 tween Tinwalin and Tamezgurt, on one hand, the two other vil-
lages of the tetrapolis, Tagunit and Tamt'ddit, on the other.
But, with this exception, each subgroup is well represented in the
different grounds of the canton.

423 This characteristic appeared clearly on the occasion of pro-
691 ceedings which in 1951 set the Imt'ddan against one another concerning a vast albur utilized half-pasturage, half-tillage, on the E. counterfort of the Tamjlucht. A judiciary transfer was made at the summit of the Azuran. The titles were contradictory; leases, sales had come into play. And, even more, irregularities of an ownership which always accrued to the strongest, but without annulling the right of the weakest. In fact, within this ground, three families, profiting from their preponderance, disputed a quarter favorable for rye called Uz'z'igat (1,900 meters). The summit is not far from it. From there, the view plunges, to the E., over the Kattos, the Wafagga; to the W. and to the S., over a landscape with magnificent folds, closed by the barrier of the Afuzar and, in the background, by the Atlasic crest. This
high plateau, all around the crop terrain, is studded with idughas,
[692] "summer shelters." The jemâa deliberates. An agreement is
[634] finally concluded. The Uz'z'igat is to be allotted among the 19
[613] ikhs-s resulting from the fractioning of the first Imt'ddan families.
A brief dispute had tended to exclude the branches with the most
[634] eccentric habitat, such as those of Tinwalin. But, instructively,
the taqbilt solidarity and the landed-property vocation that it implies will outweigh the dispersion of habitat and the decay of the bond. It could not be otherwise. Analogous solidarity prevails elsewhere, as has been seen, in a matter as favorable to privative appropriation as the harvest of almonds.

G) Bul^{c}wân, estuary of the montagnard system

133 The Tagoyyamt ford (740 meters), where the traditional
361 route from the Dir crosses the Oued Seksawa, here called Lwâd n-Qihra, or Asifl-lqîhra, leaves a village on the right, Bul^{c}wân, the colony of which, Taqennurt, situated not far away, on the

/219 cont./

114 /footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For
121 a collection of proper names/," *Bulletin de
l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire*, 1950,
p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la
formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the
formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," *Actes et Mémoires
du III^e Congrès international de toponymie et
d'anthroponymie*, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000 /The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa,
Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in
small type in the original source./ In form and color, the
133 Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it
175 forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the
177 Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an
184 important path of invasion and passage, *agharas ugellid*, has suf-
619 fered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from
those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons,
[634] stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The
peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into
which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically:
its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers
of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Chaib and
a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived
more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected,
starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a
resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things
which are lacking in Demsira.

613 This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the
312 cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have
[184] proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

[Demsira]
[Nfifa]

/220 cont./

613 423 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a slope, without good irrigation, Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten *ikhs*-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," *Iger ugellid*, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'ăh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 312 [133] /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by *ikhs*, but unequally, the *ikhs*-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 [131] Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 423 [634] 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the distribution of land. It is the *taqbilt* called Wad l-lbŭr. Seven *a^{c}z'ăm* form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Âli Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. [578] The conflict between the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Âli, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[Nfifa]
[Mtugga]

619 /221 cont./

423 general satisfaction. Another corollary verification. That in the irrigated ground.

2) Outside of this irrigated ground, curiously named Wad l-lbûr, that is, "the river of the dry crops," the taqbilt possesses a mamilliform country, making up part of the yellowish confines between Mtugga and Nfifa: grounds called Lmdayn, Berdami, Id'ergan, Amskennid', etc. The collective vocation is made known, as proof that appropriation has been made there, for each campaign, s-lh'waz, that is to say, by a race to be the first occupant, "by seizure." Marking with the plowshare is equal to appropriation for the year. In 1950 the depositing of a privative demand for registering led to formalizing this character. It was
[634] the integrality of the taqbilt of Wad l-lbûr, including the "people of the mountain," that claimed its rights. The rival claim of the villages located in the very estate to monopolize it was finally rejected. It is an allotment by "foyers," s-takatin, that was decided upon, one zone being assigned on this basis to each village of the mountain or of the plain: an intermediate system, making allowance for all the ikhs-s and for their general vocation, and for their differences of size or of habitat.

Roughly, the country of Wad l-lbûr appears as though it had been initially cut up into three grounds, where each of the ikhs-s had its share. But their evolution has been divergent: privative appropriation for the mountain sector, persistent collective tenure for the plains ground, and classical distribution by quarters in the lower valley of the Amejnes.

/222/ ... Mtugga...

133 Complex structure. Two E.-W. synclinals frame what has been inexactly called the Mtugga plateau. In reality it is a calcareous bulge linked to the Atlasic surrection. But its surface, subjected to intense erosion, has become in many places a stony causse. It is cut by ravines, the junction of which, under the name of Igrunzar, forms the Wâd Lqçob. The latter flows into

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./
133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the
Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the
exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s
surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage,
● [634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of
a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi,
Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces
of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of
economic and political equilibrium.

613 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of
the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately
423 coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that,
following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive
plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric,
like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same
age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does
it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organ-
[172] ized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins,
called Dar l-lbacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft
(Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her,
where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a
veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with
the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of
the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by
173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this
was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from
Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning
their principal habitat.

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus
revived, the collective qualification muchû^c is still applied to
the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although
[613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure,"
most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr
ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday
[443] market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a
veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions, some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the
[619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and
[634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

[539] Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder:
taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there." Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much
from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose
spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism
[121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would
be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal
[671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such
peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed. Those that have been noted here are far from being the
only ones.

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each *ikhs* putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent system.

What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The
[829] user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities. But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
(191) these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically far apart, end in the *open field* /the words in italics are in English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the *muchā*^{c} of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the *taqbilt* is not in any way an enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of
[613] a /227/ family stock. If, within the *ikhs*, the attachment of the
[592] different "foyers," *takatin*, to one another is genealogical and amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for the attachment of the *ikhs*-s between themselves within the group: their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely, is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth, it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

/229 cont./

423 To what extent is a gentilitial distribution, in itself called
613 upon to subdivide itself among foyers by a drawing of lots, prac-
ticable in the case where superficies, human forces, and water
619 module assume a breadth more important than in the narrow
184 canton? It then seems that a sort of dilation is imparted to the elements in the case. New subdivisions are intercalated between the basic subgroups and the individual: thus the three "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws, the binary rhythm of the a. Lh'sen, the localization by villages of the Idma "minor ikhs-s." All the more reason that it would appear among the Mez'ud'a, where a generous plains affluence presents something like a magnifying projection of the tribal structure. Apart from a certain order of grandeur, the notion of ikhs is lost /230/ as a basis of distribution. Then conventional divisions intervene, such as in Mez'ud'a the "centuries," myawat, which become the subjects
[671] of law. And the law is ramified by degrees down to the "foyer," takat, but not without putting into play other measures of debit and of agricultural surface. That is all the more marked in Mez'ud'a, because beside such distributions for the water from the channels of the asif el-Mâl, the distribution of source water remains gentilitial. On the one hand, the solution of breadth, on the other, solution of narrowness. This coefficient of contraction or of dilation, of grain more or less loose or held together is essential for the interpretation of the facts. One realizes that by
619 the example of the Mez'ud'a. Again in this tribe it is a matter
of the harmonious enlargement of a taqbilt of traditional type, an
634 enlargement whose steps are to be read clearly in the present
184 structures. More vast, more complex, and above all more instructive would be the Mtugga example, which covers an immense country and some thirty thousand souls. The ensemble is composed of several taqbilt-s substantial enough themselves to interpose one or two other levels of classification between them and the ikhs-s that compose them.

423 Thus the elements of the montagnard order: gentilitial
613 division of the soil, vitality of the equilibrium among ikhs-s,
184 parcellary orchestration, are subject to different fates as one

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête
[133] is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as
the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded
there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in
turn is subdivided.

619 The consistency of the *amerwas*, "matrimonial gift," the
[585] effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of
[691] a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not be-
[695] long to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa,
Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we
619 call the "fraction," that is, the *taqbilt*. And there are seven or
634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of
585 the *amerwas* varies according to four zones which apply the
regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given
[184] to a Mtuggi, the *chchard'*, stipulated marriage-settlement for
the benefit of the bride, includes in certain *taqbilt*-s, and not in
619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters,
634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because
671 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is
[186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different
[184]

619 /241 cont./
634 cantons complex rules govern the validity of the notarial writing
671 itself. Thus, in Nfifa, only the act drawn up by native t't'olba
184 or North Demsira or Mtugga is good. Otherwise it is no longer
acceptable.

619 Mechanism of cellular defense, one might say. And also
182 diversified code of exchanges between cells. Legislating for it-
184 self, protected from its neighbors by invalidations, restrictions, or stipulations, surrounded by this type of armor that the doubling of the procedural rate constitutes, the group certainly, and although its law differs but little, poses as an individual.

184 It will thus be legitimate to speak of the Seksawa system, original part of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. And if it is still impossible, or merely premature, to define clearly the relations of this originality to the surrounding originalities or to the matter of the ensemble, one will not, for all that, let oneself be caught by this methodological grief that every investigator of the North African institution feels at first before the immensity of the tasks and the insufficiency of the materials.

/242/ Presence of Islam in the Law

779 There is, moreover, a certain angle from which -- paradoxi-
671 cally enough, since indeed more ample -- the problem has been
not only scrutinized by Islamic and European science (1),

1. One thinks especially of the studies of M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

but experimentally felt, lived by the foreigner. It is that of the relations between such-and-such "customary law" and the Mussulman law. In fact, we believe, the political or cultural discordancy of the upper valleys is far from revealing any rupture in the moral or geographic continuity of the Maghrebi societies. The Mussulman law, acting everywhere, albeit unequally, on native factors, combines with them in a diversity that nevertheless is

/249 cont./
539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now
that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

## [634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Âbdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural
plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
823 been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the com-
782 munal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way,
[784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid:
fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 796 533 ^c^azzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi ethnology (1).

> 1. Mzabite clerks are I^c^azzaben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ^c^azib; Egypt: ^c^ezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 ● [634] The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

/267 cont./

762 as far as suicide (1).

784

787

1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^{w}mi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

000 The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

/268/

III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

776

794

Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and [571] external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential ● [634] condition: whether the chchard' (1) paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 151, 1. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this
aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail
the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite
cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, of conciliator in disputes between groups. This
is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the
fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs
(2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ^{c}Ayâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ^{c}ukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against
anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one
and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be
penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants
of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

/273 cont./

776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175] 1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûlî, ^{c}Abd al-Karîm b. ^{c}Umar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumti^{c} al-asmâ^{c}, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the na-
[619] tional saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

/275 cont./

794 184 The a. Lh'sen, so coherent for all that touches on the agrarian order or on the cantonal devotions, assert on this subject a characteristic diversity: Wanz'id' pays to the Nâçirî a measure of barley, 100 nuts, a Friday of butter per foyer. But its neighbor, Iwulla, serves Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, in addition to the Nâçirî. One would find the same diversity among the Idma villages, a canton nevertheless very uniform.

A comparison with the neighboring Mez'ud'a would show this diversity, enriched moreover by recourse to a more extensive scale of saints, being ordered in a harmonious system, with great movements of the ensemble. This sort of comparison is not our objective, and we shall not dwell upon it. Nevertheless, on this 619 178 plane as well as on many others, the contrast between the balanced structure of the Mez'ud'a and that, partitioned and divergent, of the Seksawa is striking. Or rather, there ceases to be contrast there if one eliminates this vague word "tribe," which labels for us, in both cases, realities how different! It is neces- [634] sary in fact to compare the Mez'ud'a, not to the Seksawa in their totality, but to the Idma or to the a. Lh'sen: the Mez'ud'a are a taqbilt that has known how or was able to keep its basic structures, all while distending itself to a population of more than 2,000 foyers. While in Seksawa, from the bottom to the top of the valley, vicissitudes have broken up an /276/ equivalent population into eight or nine organisms. It is not without interest that the study of religious forms thereupon meets, in its conclusions, those of history.

The transformations that have modified the structure of the groups, in reducing or amplifying the geographical ensembles, have naturally acted on the local economy of the sacred, of the 794 184 mystical patronages of their fiscal counterpart. Correlatively, the variety of the relations between the saint and his partners has become very great. On the one hand, large zones of influence. On the other, personal devotions and initiations. Here affiliations proceeding from a free choice. There collective or hereditary clienteles, the origin of which is no longer perceived by anyone.

/276 cont./

794 But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic
184 exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at
this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts, Individual Contracts

796 Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism
[241] and conscience. There is something very remarkable
there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural
[221] periodicity, terminates in a contract.

794 The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo
of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the
212 repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obli-
875 gation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or
"bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together
● [634] only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison
of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plu-
rality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion.
[312] Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the
liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is,
[423] to sum up, to the agnatic order (1).

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[465] 1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, 1. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat ^{c}uyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/284 cont./
346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power,
above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of
stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three
stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques
of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it
will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a.
Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes
[784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter
two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that
the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they
traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a
tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs,
below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked
them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window
were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives,
have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the
maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are
joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not
only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose
victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to
whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed
[778] by an examination of the places and which would put one on the
same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be
none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the
highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

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/288 cont./

Attempt at evaluation of the regular annual revenues of Lalla Aziza (in Seksawa)

Name of taqbilt	Name of donor group or groups	Barley (in measures)	Maize (in measures)	Butter (in kg.)	Walnuts (in thousands)	Sheep or goats	Bovines
a. Musa.	Igernssuq	29					
	T'abya	62				1	1
	Tabratjut	82					
a. Lh'sen.	Ensemble					1	
a. Skrat.	Dyur Sekrat ...	44	44	22			1
	Tikid'ut	23	23	11,5			
Iguntar.					0,650		
Idma.	Tasselli	7					1
	Talmud'ât	3					
	Tannsmekht ...	—					
	Wanchkrir	80					
Imt'ddan.	Tinwalin	27	27		(6 measures of almonds in case of good harvests)	27	
	Tamezgurt	16	16			16	
	Tagunit	45	45			45	2
	Tamt'ddit	16	16			16	
a. H'adduyws	a. Wasif	20		10			fac.
	Fensu	10					
	Tasa	9					
	a. Bah'ammo ..	3,5		14.5			
	Igersafen	3,5					
I. Geryun.	Tinerghat	4			3,2		fac.
	Imi Wasif	3			2,4		
	Asif Lah'lo	3,5			3		
	Rekt Wasif	2,5			2		
	Ighelmellen ...	4,5			3,7		
	Ikis	8			6,8		
a. Âbdella.							1

N.B. To which are added regular dues from the a. Gasa, the Idaw i-yzimmer (Idaw Mh'mud), the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), and the Haut Gedmiwa.

Totals ...		505.5	71	58	21.75	106	from 6 to 8
	Equivalence ...	67.4 qx	28,5 qx				

/qx = quintals/

/291 cont./

The Rite

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782 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to Lalla Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the /292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz, the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the nativity of the Prophet, this Mîlâd, whose institution in Morocco and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fifteenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and became the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites. At Z'init' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifestations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines processionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the
cemetery of sidi bu Lqnadel, who would be, one will remember,
H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession
[533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish
the othodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor,
Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head."
This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard
in any case at Ammem. The crowd arrives at an area equipped
as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat
[787] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by
the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief
washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is presented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut
open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae,
[634] while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation
starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of
hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The
[171] sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other
regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

/299 cont./

The Cycle of the Founder

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[778] Sidi ^{c}Âmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ^{c}Âmer, has
[634] his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt
that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the
place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola
776 of his son, ^{c}Âmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and
794 the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the
[778] direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a
cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the
people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that
[796] here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March),
the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much
smaller field.

127 These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

175 /The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in
776 small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late
ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga
794 tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation,"
428 that ^{c}Âmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the
people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/303 cont./
776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality,
at the same time as participation in a movement of minds
that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves
/304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut
trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the
[172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that
unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa
[487] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of
a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees
the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the
[634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of
the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia
[794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems,
separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an
always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond
the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a.
Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the
776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious human
174 limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient
solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their
itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a
veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has
been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla
Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth,
and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Âbdallah, of
776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the aggressive
634 history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its
support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the
[666] elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed
it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period,
[631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it
thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated
796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/307 cont./

776 Sidi Mh'and, as has been seen, is probably the only one of his kind here. Inventor of springs, and protector of fields and herds, his importance is great, especially in Idma. Associate /Fr. Parèdre, from the Gk. paredros/ of sidi Lah'sen in the acts concerning the life of the taqbilt, he also receives a cens in other Seksawa groups.

776 794 [634] /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Approximately 80 villages furnish the saint what we have called a "subscription." That is, by taqbilt: Idma, 4 villages; a. Musa, 1; a. H'adduyws, 10; a. Châib, 4; a. Blkhayr, 2; Afella Issen, 2; Irohalen (Demsira), 2; a. Lh'sen, 5; Sekrat, 2; a. Daud, 4; a. Mh'and u Musa, 2; Iberhan, 2; a. Abdella, 4; a. Lbûr (Nfifa), 1; Dwiran, 2; Mez'ud'a, 6; a. Tigidar, 1; Ind Maghus, 1; Amejnes, 1; a. Gasa, 1.

[792] This expansion amply goes beyond, in all directions, the close radius of the zaouia of Ammern. Circum-Tichka ensemble on one side, tribes of the col of Imintanout on the other, and points on the Dir, as far as into Gedmiwa. In other words, perimeter of some half-scores of kilometers in radius. And it is only a matter of a saint of really rather limited total importance.

The content of the chchard' is naturally variable. In general, it consists of an annual charge for each foyer of half a measure of barley or maize and the churning of butter "of a Friday." For only the Seksawa tribe a rough evaluation gives the following quantities:

[592] One thousand foyers, grouped in some 25 villages, pay annually at Ammern: 63 qx /quintals/ of barley, 161 kg. of butter, 26 qx of maize, 3 sheep, one bovine, and 12,000 nuts. That is, in the course of 1951 a value of about 250,000 fr. It would seem that this total must be quintupled, bearing in mind supererogatory gifts and offerings, the object of fruitful quests practiced by the igwrramen, according to the itinerant method. In 1951, one of the beneficiaries having, unknown to the others, collected on the spot the gifts of a single village of Ind Maghus, a complaint was lodged. The final transaction involved 5,000 fr. To which are

/323 cont./
691 have studied it above. It aims at re-establishing a distributive
695 integrity among riparian patrimonies, thus bringing into play an
agrarian order on whose exact nature it has been necessary to reserve judgment.

423 Finally there are the conflicts of personal or landed-property
691 order. The procedure — it is indeed then a matter of procedure
— is in two parts. The temporal authority, made cognizant first, brings about and records the agreement of the parties in the person of a muh'akim, most often a religious or scholarly individual. Who is this personage exactly?

Judgment or Arbitration?

623 The judiciary attributions in Chleuh /Shluh/ country are en-
634 trusted today to a collegial Tribunal. This is an extension of the
619 former competence of the jemâa, which customarily dealt with
692 only public law and the first phase of the judiciary instance
properly speaking. But this extension doubtlessly is not exorbitant of a lively communitarian tradition, which is explained by the fact that, in contrast to the feudal forms observed on the plain, it impressed the reformer.

/324/ On the other hand, and on the historical plane, nothing permits affirming that in a number of epochs this extension of
[629] competence was not produced spontaneously. The demarcation
between the natures of the public law and of the private law is tenuous since most of the landed-property litigations arise from conflicts between groups or subdivisions of groups, which is also the theme of the public life of the canton. Some written traces of settlements of this sort authorize the hypothesis.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 982 Heg.: 1572, concerning the well-known gens of the a. D'alh'a and some persons from Tawanghast, mentions that one of those interested "produced, in the bosom of the jemâa, the act of guarantee of his mother's dower," kharraja ^{c}ala wasat'i'l-jamâ^{c}a. In this affair, obviously of private law,

623 /324 cont./
634 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdic-
619 tional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not
at all isolated.
692 In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the
jemâa not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in
[693] judiciary or arbitral attributions. A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630,
in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a
"cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire jemâa of the Idma, with its two moqaddem-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The jemâa, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of
old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece,
[792] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indi-
[794] rectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the moqaddem or the amghar, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the t't'aleb, the fqih, the agurram.

692 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems
693 always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral
procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the jemâa, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^{c}anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

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1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIII^e siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/." R. afr., 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

/324 cont./
693 The existence of this latter is /325/ intermittent. It appears
692 most often as linked to the progress of personal power and natu-
rally also to the nearness of the towns. He is supported, but also
imposed and oriented by the chief. Nevertheless, he always
judges "by mutual accord," s-tarad'i, and his intervention is
challengeable, like that of any other arbiter. But is it indeed a
matter of an arbiter? Some old documents will permit analyzing
the institution better.

175 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
inal source./ There is first an act of 923 Heg.: 1518, of the
● 634 a. H'adduyws, recording a verdict rendered in a landed-property
69 case, and which gives to one of the parties the ownership of par-
cels seized as counterpart of the expenses of mortuary services.
And this in a great meeting of Seksawa and Idaw i-yzimmer. The
h'âkim bases his authority upon the mutual and written appeal of
the two adversaries to his court, called court of the char^{c} /Sharia/,
"of the law": ba^{c}da rid'â'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-char^{c}i laday-nâ
bi-rasmi't-tarâd'î.

Another act of 1109 Heg.: 1698, of the I. Geryun, in very
bad Arabic, relates a complete procedure. The moqaddem and
[794] the jemâa place the case of two parties before a fqih designated
by lot, ba^{c}da d'arabat la-hum al-qur^{c}a, "so that he may strike
them with the sword of the law." It is a matter of a habous
[681] /wakf/ lawsuit. The two litigants promise, in case of nonappear-
ance, to pay into the hands of the moqaddem three mithqâl-s in
penalty. Initial citation and appearance in court, designation of
a judge, referral, fine in the event of nonappearance: all the
moments of the first part of the procedure are brought to light
here.

175 Again a tarâd'î consignation dated from 1122 Heg.: 1710,
69 and coming from two personages from Alus, who solemnly em-
power a "cadi" of the a. Tikssit to act for them in making a
settlement. "They are in agreement (to place) the charî^{c}a of
God in the hands of the fqih such and such ... for all that has be-
come clouded between them in the case of land, trees, houses,

/364 cont./

794 428 In spite of these endeavors of the doctrine to reconcile the theory of pious affectation with a very different practice, the Seksawa habous is nothing other than an "agnatic sequestration." It does not even allege the intention of piety and sets itself up as pure testamentary modality. An incertitude has always marked it with respect to its effect upon inalienability: is the latter pleadable by the lessor himself or his beneficiaries? Can a convention of the latter at a given moment revoke it, in which case the woman's portions, originally ejected, would be claimed again on the mass? Seksawa jurisprudence is not closed on all these points. It is even interesting to note that this incertitude anciently provoked a legislating initiative.

794 428 671 An undated document of the I. Geryun subordinates the inalienability of the habous to the absence of a contrary stipulation of the constituent. In 1287 Heg.: 1832 seven elders of the Bas /Lower/ Seksawa ordained that the consistence of the margin, lh'âchit, left for the benefit of the daughters will be one half of the fruits of the foundation, the other half returning to the habous. In this fruit is also included the product of sales, pledged loans, etc. "Such is the custom of the Deren and of the Dir," they solemnly added. But from all evidence such legislation aggravated the incertitude of this habous, which seems, to /365/ speak truthfully, not to have properly any content, except to open a recourse for the male heir against the woman, and especially for the descendant against the foreign acquirer. The right is identified here with the action, and it is probable that it is necessary to rank this habous and the chchfâa that threatens it among these procedural resources with an effect based upon surprise and feint, and whose role is so important in the unfolding of the litigation.

794 428 634 The statistics of the habous in the mountain tribes would be quite interesting. Some twenty years ago, one of our officers noted that in three Idaw Mh'mud cantons (1).

1. Lieutenant Combe, in Les Habous de famille en Ida ou Mahmoud /The family habous in Ida ou Mahmoud/, 1932. He distinguishes two groups:

/365 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ on the one side, a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen; on the other, Ichkajjen, a. Dris.

against which the Seksawa are directly backed (a. Tunert, I. i-yzimmer, Irohalen). it is the totality of goods that is obligatorily "haboused": hence inalienability and disinheritance of women extending to the ensemble of the ground. Elsewhere it is a matter of a simple faculty, but so laid under contribution in the mountains of Imintanout that at the same period the proportion of habous was evaluated at two fifths of the tillable land. Twenty-five years ago the judiciary jemâa of the Dĕmsira even expressed the wish that one half of all contested landed-property should be considered habous. This practice has not been retained. But it prevails in [671] Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa under the name of taîqît (2).

2. But nothing may be concluded with certainty, the customary law of the Aghbar seeming to have undergone recent evolutions of an administrative order that have accentuated its imprecision. It appears to us today, much more than the Seksawa law, to be a "patoisant" /speaking with a provincial accent/ law, whether this character be ancient or acquired.

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On the other hand, scarcely any habous in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, downstream from the confluence of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. A [691] foundation of the protégé of Brives, Ah'med ou Bihi, at Tuz'z'umt, was regarded as an anomaly and gave rise to a long lawsuit: it is true that the wife of the founder was a foreigner from the Mtugga. [177] Even lower, in the plain, permeable to outside influences, this form concerns, as in Arab countries, only a minority of "great families." It doubtlessly then finds the alibi of its pious intention. On the contrary, it is so frequent in the mountains that it is presumed of all land. But the customary judge opposes to this

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 619 634 121 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing, has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves. What are the relations between the group and its agnatic
681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law, what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the /370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation, then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment and tariffed composition.

613 178 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that
592 [621] [634] [613] the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not correspond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takat

175 /373 cont./
685 "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the
Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose
683 brothers cursed the one robbed, yal^c anû bi-kathrat il-qabîh':
[634] 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the
671 existing documentary sources, and even taking into account
transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 /374/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in
685 the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun
[619] decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates.
[634] The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do
this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember
[613] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group,
[634] sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the
[619] "third," thelth.

671 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the
681 justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that
[613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs,
whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/374 cont./

The Public Law of the "Taqbilt"

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634 The old acts of penal tariffication most often begin with the
formula: "*ittafaqû jamâᶜa*..., "in agreement is the *jemâa*."
The latter term has become the *leit motiv* of our North African
political sociology. Let us remember its initial ambiguity, due
to the etymology. The *jemâa* can only be a "meeting," as the
[779] *ᶜorf* can only be a "presumption." A vein of the *fiqh* is mixed
here with the old communal notions. In many acts and in the
conception of a purist writer the word evokes only publicity. This
publicity, highly important for example in the matter of marriage,
is confounded, it is true, with the *auctoritas* of the group. The
camouflage, at least linguistic, of the montagnard institution has
made out of a reality so essential something a bit ephemeral, and
which can give rise to reassuring and evasive assimilations. Formidable reality when it is fully deployed, in an insurrectionary convention, for example, as the history of Morocco is full of them (1).

[171] 1. Also in Algeria. Cf. the organization of the *chert'iya* in L. Rinn, *Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie* /History of the insurrection of 1871 in Algeria/, 1891, pp. 91 sq.

Mawkish reality when prudence or false shame or /375/ grammatical reserve induce it to express itself only through words with double meaning. The initial formula of the *inçâf*-s can be interpreted in two senses: communal deliberation or accidental agreement.

634
554 After this preamble comes the name of the chief, the "preposed" one, *moqaddem*. Again an Arabic word, with an aspect of central power; it is the one that in the present makhzanian system designates the village chief. But here it is quite another thing. This personage is sometimes surrounded by a little senate whose members bear the unexplained name of *ait Arbâin*, "the

/375 cont./
634 554 Forty," and sometimes more simply that of "auxiliaries," a^{c}wân. On a very old document the moqaddem bears the name, fallen into disuse here, of anflus. There is incontestably designation by the group. Election by all or co-optation by the ikhs chiefs? It is probable that circumstances of fact and of persons decided between these two formulas. Certain groups practice special modalities. Thus the Idma meet each year on the expansion of [613] Inraren Z'dinin above Anchkrir. A rotation was observed between ikhs-s concerning the choice of the one elected. In fact, phases of personal power seem, at least for the Idma, to have constantly interfered with the democratic organization, to the point that it might be asked if the latter was not an ideal rather than reality.

175 634 554 [648] There remains, from these Idma, a very old testimony: 915 Heg.: 1510. This is the period of Portuguese incursions in the Dir and at least once along the route from the Sous. The Idma were then reduced to three villages: Ad'erd'ur, Usikis, Anchkrir. The occupation of the middle valley had not yet been made. The latter was still held by the a. Gasa. The act, doubtlessly the official report of one of these assemblies of Inraren Z'dinin, after a solemn preamble in the Koranic form, begins according to the ritual formula: ittafaqû jamâ^{c}a. The elected chief bears no title, except the circumlocution that "he will speak in their name"... "God make us conform to his wishes! May he make peace (al-^{c}âfiya) repose in 6 delegates from each village." The expression of a ritual role is scarcely accoutered with monotheism here. This is the oldest document of this type that we have. It is nearly contemporaneous with the "edicts" of Yah'yâ u Tâfuft (the ally of the Portuguese), which are of the same genre. The area of expansion of the formula therefore seems to have been considerable. 634 554 The moqaddem represents the jemâa in all of its multiple interventions. It naturally mixes with this role the growing prerogatives of the executive. On the internal plane, he is charged with calling upon the citizens by bans for all the prestations of /376/ agrarian order that a village life both intense and poorly treated by an unfruitful milieu involves. Corvées of mutual assistance, fiqh retribution, struggle against grasshoppers,

/376 cont./

634 repairs of the *séquias*, periodic cleanings of the basins, hospitality
554 offered to the traveler. An act from the a. H'adduyws of 1166 Heg.: 1755 gives some savory details on that. One finds there a phrase member characteristic of this public order, whose pre-
[681] valence over private legitimacy was pointed out above: "Whoever issues a plausible revendication (upon a piece of land), but resists (the tillage of the adversary) without consultation with the *moqaddem*": so much fine, *man* *idda*^{o}*a* *bichibha* *wa* *ta*^{c}*arrad'a* *illâ* *bi-muchawarat* *il-muqaddam*. This petty magistrate is thus the guardian of the order of the group here under its agrarian, economic, municipal but also judiciary aspect. His role is important. Also numerous documents specify on his behalf sanctions of fines imposed automatically upon anyone who does not obey him. One sees where such an evolution can go. In the late stage that our first officers were able to observe, such a tendency is fully affirmed.

For example, here is a document of the Idaw Geryun of 1292 Heg.: 1875. In proper terms the *moqaddem* is defined as "having to administer the declarants according to equity, issuing his opinion in all their affairs." This avowed evolution towards personal power is accompanied by new penal arrangements for the repression of falsehood or impiety. A beginning of moralization of the power is glimpsed here. It is a reaction against the old order when the chief anticipates drawing upon a force that is not merely weapons. The attempt is instructive. To speak truthfully, such tendencies arouse opposition, permanent control of the ait Arbâin, rule of unanimity that the *moqaddem* can uphold only as long as he does not set himself up through violence, and which thus forces him into an incessant demagogy. This consultation with the *jemâa* is even sometimes expressly imposed upon him. It is thus that the Idaw Geryun in 1218 Heg.: 1803 specify that "the *moqaddem* or his assistants can do nothing without consultation with the *jemâa*, *illa* *bi-muchâwarat* *il-jamâ*^{c}*a*".

It cannot be said that evolution toward personal power, whose contemporaneous phase we have recorded and consolidated, has dried up this aptitude for codification. Perhaps it consequently worked in

634 /376 cont./
554 a void, or out of a sort of revenge against the event — so considerable is the role of the fiction in these societies. The fact is
634 that this genre of writings is manifested up to our arrival. Who
671 knows whether the multiplicity of clauses was not sought after as a guarantee against an invading arbitrariness? Certainly, the guarantee is /377/ more or less efficacious. Not only can tyrannical power henceforth infringe upon these deliberations, but there is something even more serious. The new magistery is based on a new political morality. The automatism that the com[illegible]e looked for in the application of punishment gives way [illegible] discretionary valuation, which it would be false to say is constantly iniquitous. It would not be maintained in such a milieu without the support of legitimacy. But another legitimacy. Codification henceforth collides against the nuances and contingency of a praetorian jurisdiction, which undoubtedly does not fail to invoke religion, reason, and good sense against its rival. The transition is accompanied, among many justiciables, by a feeling of liberation with respect to old constraints of the group, of immediate and pitiless effect. A new faculty of instance, of remise for cause, of individual proceedings and recourse opens where hitherto only the strict communal mechanism tried to govern. Such authentic instincts of the milieu doubtlessly obtain satisfaction. In one sense the amghar carries with him a faculty of deliverance: it is the very one of anarchical destruction, but also, in a sense, that of enlightenment and individualism. One is poorly equipped to describe with precision the play of factors whose alternating victories have undoubtedly filled several centuries, and not only the nineteenth. It will suffice here to have extricated the character of it.

175 In 1132 Heg.: 1720 a fqih originally from the Arghen, the
634 tribe of Ibn Toumert, rises to interesting distinctions, which show
554 to what work of the intellect, and critical intellect, the institu-
[212] tion could give rise. "Among these rural people," he says, "the
(794] jemâ^{c}a and the moqaddem play the role of sultan in regulatory
affairs (ah'kâm). The moqaddem is the imâm. If they agree to
[681] compose (sâmah'a) or levy a fine (inçâf), they divide the fine,
and the portion of the one and the other is evident. If they

175 /377 cont./
634 compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do
554 not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to
681 increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act
coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous,
mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of
Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

681 In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization,
which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet
[693] been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and
more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws
up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine
624 imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as
has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural
ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root
expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its
character. But there is a great difference between this conduct
[689] and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction
on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression
authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate
capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being
mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o,
the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much
634 more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases
451 he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or
[554] "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regulatory
[651] payments, only a portion of which comes back to him.
Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical
document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year
report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up
in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures
(1).

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[436] 1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya;
[104] mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are
nominal moneys.

/378 cont./

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Credit	Nature of the operation	Debit	Nature of the operation
	A) In cash		
12 m 4 o	Remitted by the taqbilt.	60 o, 1/2 mu	Gift to the Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
14 o	Amount of the present of condolences made by the jemâa of the Idaw Mçat't'og and the Idaw Kais.	3 uj	Gift to the Ulad Sidi Ah'med u Musa (Asif Leh'lu).
		57 o	"Bled Lebda," Idaw Mçat't'og and Idaw Kais.
9 o	Amount of a present of condolences.	45 o	Price of sheep remitted to Lah'sen b. Ah'med and Moh'ammed b. Messâud of Tamarwut, that is, 30 o + 15 o.
9 o	Price of a sheep slaughtered for the jemâa and reimbursed to the moqaddem.		
9 o 1 mu	Amount of the condolences of the Mentaga.	4 uj	Partial reimbursement to Lah'sen u Ah'med. This sum represents part of the debts that the taqbilt owes.
		3 o, 1/2 mu	Help for the granddaughter of the a. Buzid of Asif Leh'lu.
		3 o, 1/2 mu	Help for the daughter of Sidi Ah'med b. Sidi Moh'ammed of Agersif at the time of his return to the mosque of Asif Leh'lu.
Total: 16 m, 5 o, 1 mu.		Total: 16 m, 8 o, 1.5 mu, 7 uj.	

/379/

B) Fiduciary operations

451	4 o	Price of a sheep.	20 o	Price of sheep of dhbîh'a and sum remitted to the women.
634	3 o	—		
652	7 o	—		
	5 uj	Loan to an old man.		
	5 uj	Loan to an old man.	60 o, 1 mu	Gift given to Sidi H'asan, one of the sons of the a. Ben Nâçer.
	11 mu, 2 fl	Price of sheepskins.		
	10 o	Loan to Âbdallah u Març	6 o, 1/2 mu	Gift given to the Ulad Sidi Muh'.
			3 o	Sum spent by the moqaddem (?).
			9 o	Sum remitted to Moh'ammed b. Brahim Lachger, that is, the price of three sheep.
			6 o	Sum remitted to Lah'sen Kâbûs as reimbursement.
			30 o	Gift to the marabout Sidi H'ammo n-ait ^{c}Ayâd of the Sous.
			4 o, 1/2 mu	Sum remitted by Âbdellah b. Ah'med u Març to Sidi Ah'med u Nâçer.
	Total: 24 o, 10 uj, 11 mu, 2 fl		Total: 138 o, 2 mu	

Recapitulation of the credit: 18 m, 9 o, etc.
Recapitulation of the debit : 30 m, 6 o, etc.
Balance: — 11 m, 7 o, etc.

/379 cont./

634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The *moqaddem* ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the administrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the communal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the *moqaddem* and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, *maçâlih' al-ghâba*. Guarantors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, *ifqiren* — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
[613] noted up to here: presence of the *ikhs* delegates, of the *moqaddem*-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

175 /381 cont./
683 considerations upon the tariff for facial wounds, evaluated at
671 1/20 of the dîâ, that is, 72 Abbassian mithqâls-s. An opinion
779 by a fqih from Arghen already mentioned (act of Tinwalin of
175 1198 Heg.: 1784) is based conjointly on the Tuh'fa and on
681 "what rules in the matter of ^{c}orf and of ^{c}âda in the country of
671 Sous, from Fès /Fez/ to the Sous, in the matter /382/ of fines
779 and of inçâf: and this is licit for these countrymen."

This pedantic contamination between the statute and the
671 native law is not alone in revealing the true nature of these
codifications. From what one is going to see now, even though
it is only a matter of indications or traces, will doubtless stand
out traits probably more authentic. The preamble of all these
texts has already been noted. It is an agreement recording the
unanimity of a group on its maçâlih', on its property. One
knows indeed what use Malékite /Maliki/ empiricism can make
671 of this latter notion. But enough allowance has been made for
779 the religious impregnations of the system for one also to seek to
disclose there another inspiration, that of a collective pragmatism,
making sure of its legitimacy by the pursuit of its material
671 and moral interests. This legitimacy manifests itself by social
634 contract. This is not an accident. The contractual aspect is in
fact quite striking in these testimonies. This is a mutual com-
675 mitment among them on the one hand, with the promoted
moqaddem on the other, to which the ikhs chiefs subscribe. It
obligates them as it obligates the moqaddem, and if the latter,
curiously enough, does not figure in the act it is because the
consensus of the patres is deemed to entail his conditioned adherence
on the basic points stipulated by the document. A contract
thus becomes the law of the group.

The clauses most often constitute a veritable tariffed charter.
It is rare to read, as in this document of 961 Heg.: 1583 (Idaw
Geryun), that the moqaddem and his assistants "will take" what
they please. Such a tone is isolated. In the totality of the cases
[126] it is a matter of a minute tariffication. A large number of these
documents has been collected by us in the high valley.

/388 cont./
671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futûh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most
authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It
is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and
[634] most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of sworn law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

/395 cont./

577 competitions of the group, the number of affairs where a good ob- 571 jective law could have made victory anticipated before a jurisdiction likewise objective -- but is it? -- is ludicrously small compared to that of the mad instances that hatred, appetite, fidelity impose. An instinctive realism thus governs the indefinite reconduction of litigations rather than a decision that would close debate, and dry up life.

Nevertheless, out of this confusion of passions and interests, of subtleties and angers, finally rises a sort of equilibrium. It is formed from the constancy that opposes indefinitely, that is to say, maintains in their respective positions, the rival factions. Tension becomes safeguard. Vengeance, the momentary possession of power, the success of a judicial stratagem compensate for, for a few moments, a few years, a few generations, the phases of persecution, poverty, or exile. The justice of this society thus governs the free exercise of each of the two terms of the alternative.

An appeal to outside intervention, which would consolidate one or the other, is properly inexpiable treason. Whence the rigorous penalties that the canton codifications devote to it: [634] heavy fines, banishment, death. But let us not exaggerate. To (628) enter into understandings with the neighbor, against the communal adversary, is a constant solicitation between these homogeneous cantons, bound by obscure solidarities. Neither would peace offer here the security that this word arouses in a modern mind, nor war the unconditional violence and leap into the unknown that it is for [721] us. Here war is but an infraction of the rules of the game. But it is also the recourse to a larger game. Rapine and vengeance /396/ are practiced in the one case as well as in the other one. More than individuals, it is families who are the protagonists. Exactly like the Fabia gens, certain ones carry on alliances and rivalries by themselves. War is the prolongation of municipal 121 tensions. Unless, inversely, they result from larger disputes. To what therefore does the notion of taqbilt correspond, on both sides of which are disposed the one and the other tension, thus similar and interdependent, and to what extent does it constitute a

/*414 cont.*/

101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mâl. In the case of the 103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," *ait n-Nffis.* Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 634 613 182 The Chleuh /Shluh/ *taqbilt* is not a federation of families. It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of *gentes*. The study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the *taqbilt* does not entirely suppress the role of the *ikhs*-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building, as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the *taqbilt* stood out all the more as the function of the *ikhs* was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

/414 cont./

619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
346 taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
634 individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much
619 more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

/418 cont./
çoff, leff (1).

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182
1. Cf. J. Berque, "Qu'est-ce qu'une 'tribu' nord-africaine? /What is a North African 'tribe'?/," Mélanges L. Febvre, 1954, t. 1, pp. 261 sq.

On the contrary, spatial denominations, founded basically on the prodigious richness of words designating the organs of the field, carry a precise meaning, up to the highest echelons. The name of Tamgonsi, of Tassila, of Ibuban arouses the clearest images. And also that of Seksawa, envisaged as that of a hydrographic basin. Hazy on the contrary, and irreducible to analysis, if one has it suggest a human ensemble which would be defined by something other than precisely the name and the habitat. Nothing else in fact, on this level, that explains, for the Seksawa, the exact nature of this formation.

The Taqbilt of the Haut Atlas: A Pole of Explication

[634]
[619]
In the taqbilt, on the contrary, a group structure is organized with a country structure. The names are both the sign and the agent of this organization. Would it be to strain the expression to say at what point the originality of such a form resides in the combination that takes place there between linguistics and geography? If the synthesis is meticulous here and full of orders of things for which the North African societies never offer discovery of the same genre, at least of the same degree, the study of these societies will have available a useful criterion merely to measure in them the presence or absence, the incoherence or connection of these various elements.

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An example: the ideas of bounds, of ground, of quarter are found more or less in all the countrysides of the Maghreb. I pass by the idea of named place, in which one confuses them, often wrongly. But nowhere up to here, other than in the Haut-Atlas,

/420 cont./

000 the notion of "Bédouin" embraces in his eyes the peasants of the Atlas, he interprets their cohesion as a trait of agnatic solidarity, *ᶜaçâbiyya*. But this hypothesis, although venerable, is nonetheless a hypothesis.

/421/ What is sure is that there was collaboration, mutual reaction, exchanges between the two types. Reality most often offers only intermediary or worn forms of it. In the Haut-Atlas, these are economic structures that, with the complicity of the event, permitted not only the survival of one of the two formulas, but its systematic expression. Inversely, the relations between a certain organization and certain features of the landscape are undoubtedly responsible for the manifestations, more or less pure, of the other formula. The tribe with ancestor, nonchalantly posed, by its way of life, on a country propitious for wide variations, on the one hand (1); the montagnard community, firm in its techniques, clamped to its vales, on the other hand: these two types equal each other as poles of explication. Between the two are ordered the rural morphologies of the Maghreb.

Local Breakup of the Type

619
634 The *taqbilt*-s of the upper valleys present the second of these types to a degree of synthesis and under historical guarantees unhoped for. Whence, among other things, the interest of the Seksawa. But this is nevertheless an extreme case, subordinated to certain protections and to certain conditions.

[333] Scarcely at the approaches of the plain, the masonry becomes more dilapidated, collapsing by large sections. Such is the case for the Mtugga, whose haughty conservatism, however, has often,

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1. The best type of this in the Maghreb is perhaps the Tripolitan "tribe." The remarkable in. /unpublished/ account by Cauneille shows the fluidity of this grouping.

/421 cont./

619 634 better than the puny mountain republics, known how to make itself respected. But even in the steepest cantons in Seksawa the system does not survive the problems of vaster bounds, of more complex political circuits. As soon as there is passage to a new [613] order of size, there is passage to another rhythm. The clarity of the relations between the ikhs-s and the taqbilt is effaced. Correlatively instructive phenomena appear.

For example, here are the a. H'adduyws, a vast ensemble composed of at least three taqbilt-s. The argument of a eponymous ancestor -- this is also the only case of this genre that we found in Seksawa -- covers an avowed heterogeneity of origins as well as of vocations. Here are the Mez'ud'a with their ten "centuries," myawat, expressing a recent and deliberate division, and their magnificent ritual and hydraulic order. They give an idea of the /422/ maximal dimension that can affect this genre of society without causing it to lose certain characteristics. And 613 nevertheless what changes are to be discerned there! In Mez'ud'a 619 as in a. H'adduyws the distribution of lands is no longer gentilitial 634 for the ensemble. It remains so only within the subgroups, themselves [423] divided into ikhs-s. The connection of the ikhs-s within the subgroup, of subgroups of different stage within the tribe is obscured. The habitat has an influence on the denomination of the inferior subdivisions. The ancient solidarities, expressed by an agrarian order, are effaced. There is, one might say, recourse to compensatory themes of identification or of qualification. That stands out from the name of the groups in Mtugga. Appeal is made simultaneously, or by turns, to the place, to the sobriquet, to consanguinity. A veritable disarray, a disorder which is not of the Chleuh /Shluh/ genius are distinguished, for example, in the heteroclite denominations of the inferior units in a khoms such as the Idaw Nifi. One in fact also sees simple numerical divisions intervene: a H'adduyws "third," Mez'ud'a "centuries," Mtugga [177] "fifths." In the second of these cases, the borrowing of a makhzanian form -- flattering analogy with the guich /gish/ tribes -- is obvious. But in the others, too, any artificial character is not excluded from the division.

/422 cont./

619 The title of *taqbilt* is then indistinctly borne by the ensemble
or its fractions. This is what, in certain respects, makes our own
634 administrative nomenclature lean toward the term of "confederation"
for the major group. At the base, same incertitude. Within
[613] the "third" or the "fifth," a whole layering of forms is interposed
between the *ikhs*, as we have restrictively defined it, and
subgroups whose solidarity becomes more and more indiscernable,
less and less plausible, invoked less and less.

To that is added the fact that the topographical breadth thus increased brings about, because of exigencies of social measure that are still obscure to us, but which we see by their work, the separate cantonment of the subgroups. New persons then appear. A relaxation of a chief's force, of the solidarity of a *jemâa*, the success of intrigue, and a "fraction" will affirm itself as independent.
[631] It was in this way that the *khoms* of the Idaw Merzug
was sometimes distinct from the Mtugga and had its own caids, or that the three oriental *myawat* of the Mez'ud'a, the Intelzifit, for a time constituted a "tribe" (1).

1. The enumerations of the Baydhâq, E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, pp. 62 sq., are interesting not only because of the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ survivals of group names up to the present time that they permit marking, but also, and perhaps especially, because of the changes that have taken place in the hierarchy and the comprehension of these names.
[616] It has justly been noted
that the names of the two famous *leff*-s, Imsifern and Inghertit, figure, as names of "fractions," in the list of Gedmiwa subgroups of the Almohade period. Let us observe also that one notes Farûga among the present Çawda or Mez'ud'a, quite different from the Frûga. And, moreover, this is

/422 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not the only anomaly of these names, of which a philological study -- perhaps impossible, it is true -- has not yet been done.

/423/ This coming and going between expansions and particularizations is observed even in our day. To each change of dimension corresponds a change of register. More profoundly than the debate between the jemâa and the caid, democracy and personal power, a debate that often accompanies it, this variation of social rhythms connected to the geographical dimensions of the group is revelatory of the life of these societies. The political game here is only superficial. Or rather the politics of the great chiefs of the Atlas succeeded only by a constant adaptation to these differences of level. It is thus that in his khoms of origin, the Idaw Talilt, the great Âbdelmalek Mtuggi is only an amghar, the first among his peers. At the echelon of the Mtugga, he is a patriarchal centralizer. At the echelon of the ensemble of dependent tribes, a cunning and authoritarian exploiter. His appetites must nevertheless reckon with the local transactional necessities of the minor amghar-s, his vassals at the echelon of the Moroccan South, and almost the entire country, courtier or rebel, he even rises to international intrigue. But the political weight that he throws about in a word amounts to the fidelity of his own jemâa.

A life like that of Âbdelmalek has run over the clavier of Maghrebi morphologies from top to bottom. It infinitely goes beyond our cadre. Only the attentive examination of the cases at hand would be able, for such and such a political unit, to cast the accent on one or the other of these movements as having the most influence upon its contexture. For there has been movement, and, throughout the course of history, dilation or contraction of the local cadres. The essential perhaps consequently lies in the correspondences exceeding the narrow limits. And if the present chapter has attempted to set up, in all its value as explicative criterion, the cantonal taqbilt, the precariousness and, on the

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619 634 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodological import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

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III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

616 121 The theory of the *leff*-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1),

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121 171 616 114 1. R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc* /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, *Les Kebaĩles du Djerjera* /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the *çoff*-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. laud.*, t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^{c}okkâz *çoff* to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, *Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie* /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance*, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two *leff*-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

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616 121 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

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The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

[178] [184] Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 619 634 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghŏrti, plur. Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously Imsifem, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Âli, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

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616 Spurred on by so much aggression, they pass for having changed
619 their colors so often that they have lost their appurtenance. It is
634 true that this is an unfortunate taqbilt, and that this trait of decadence is combined in it with the effect of other disgraces. The Idma ascribe an indefinite status to the a. H'adduyws, and they impute it to a complexity of origin--so different from their own unity. But diversity of origin has never prevented political affirmation in the Atlas. As for those concerned, if one questions the a. Tasa, of the dominant group, they confess to being Ighertan, but not without feigned or sincere reticence. The question seems to arouse in them an old and obscure controversy which one touches on only cautiously: that is to say, the foreigner will never have the last word on it.

Is the history of the recent period more conclusive? These solidarities could be of different order: ritual (thus for the liaison between the a. Lh'sen, the Tigguga, and the Mez'ud'a around sidi Ah'med u Ali (2), juridical (as perhaps in Gedmiwa, where certain procedural rates changed according to the qualification, or in Mez'ud'a, among whom the matrimonial regime, for example, diverged between a. Gd'id' and a. Td'd'it); finally and above all, political and martial. But on this last plane, which is the clearest and which has struck /428/ our observers the most, serious reservations are to be formulated as to the value of the rule. The major political power of the region, that of the Mtugga, developed, like that of the Glawa elsewhere, outside of these appurtenances. It is true that it constituted a "party" in itself alone. On the other hand, in the upper valleys themselves, a traditional hostility set the Idma against their a. H'adduyws "brothers" -- allied against them with the Imsifern a. Lh'sen. On the other side of the Atlas arête, the H'adduyws relied upon the Idaw i-yzimmer, of the opposite sign. And

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2. In this sense, remarkable unpublished notes of G. Delaye concerning the Urika and the Gheghaya.

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616 against their Idaw Mçat't'og brothers, they succeeded in buying
619 the benevolent neutrality of the Tigguga. Lastly, gentilitial or
634 even individual variations came about, to which no discredit was attached.

The leff affinity never prevents initiative in the opposite direction. Such a state of being unattached can be attributed to decadence. But it is necessary to state that, at the single stage that may be observable, rival ambitions of individuals and families confront one another inside the canton, in paltry dispositions, but also often lasting, and which may react on the general configuration. The two qualifications thus exist, but are neither always clear nor always imperative. Above all neither ponderation nor regularity reigns between them. An entire context of personal and collective initiative modifies them. One feels that indeed factors come here to disturb what we would suppose arises from a two-part rhythm. And, a more serious thing, these are factors of different level: if some appear to us to express old collective antagonisms, and thus to orient the explanation toward the hypothesis of an organic equilibrium, others evidently arise from fantasy, from the event, from machination or from chance. All this works in diverse directions and gives the impression of an extreme contingency.

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121 Are these anomalies peculiar to the Seksawa? And what should one think about the most considerable one among them: the absence of declared. Imsifern in the system, if it were not in the single a. Lh'sen canton, that is, among rather recent immigrants? Why this asymmetry, contrasting with the exact bipartism of all the groups that surround the Seksawa to the W., the E., and the S.? Is it necessary to suppose that this is a trait of rupture? The ancient expulsed populations, a. Gasa on one side, Demsira colonists on the other, or the even more ancient conquered ones: a. Sh'aq, a. Umgan, a. Châib, Ih'erdach, were they in their time arranged according to the classic figure of the chessboard? Mystery.

Another explanation that comes to mind would be that the extreme vigor of the tyrannical phenomenon in Seksawa during the twentieth century with /429/ its three great conquering amghar-s

/*436 cont.*/

000 preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover
above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant
fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished
by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising
thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian
or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and gene-
alogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that
they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds.
[171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, *çoff*, *leff*,
party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane
and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North
Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

616 Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together
182 the fraternity of *leff* with that of blood or of the oath. This
[695] proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But
let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish
these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked
to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground
where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole
section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the
leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a
changing of social rhythm.

619 As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small
634 *taqbilt* of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions
578 without anything /*437*/ being interposed between their strife and
its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects,
[613] does not go beyond internal law. But the *ikhs* indeed has the
feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has
with the other *ikhs*-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of
the *taqbilt*, although it carries within itself an explosive force,
moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers
in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

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619 But this privilege ceases at the borders of the canton. In the
634 Atlas itself, everything that goes beyond the narrow law of the taqbilt obeys a movement that distorts significations and contours. This movement does not require centuries in order to act, although obviously its most considerable effects appear to us today only with the passage of time. A lifetime would be sufficient to see these transformations come about. Moreover, it might be said that any Maghrebi work, in order to be efficacious, must apply to the groups a technique sui generis of the changings of definition and contour. The "tribe" becomes league. Kinship, initiation. Correlatively the individual escapes. The doubling
[616] of the procedural rate, which in the Atlas marks the passage from the internal law to the external law, gives way to other relations such as the leff. But one has entered the domain of incertitude and play. The most shifting conjunctions reflect the event, the tendency, the individual or collective desires. Studied from this angle, what would the montagnard history of the Moroccan "great caids" during the first quarter of the twentieth century not reveal?
000 But we shall be content with a more decanted /Fr. décanté/ example that of the Kabylia of the maréchal Randon.

This is a nervous people, long in contact with imperialisms with broad perspectives: Spanish, Turkish. The archaism and almost permanence of the cadre contrast with the mobility of an economy dependent for much on external contributions, therefore on travel and adventure. The compartmentalization of the country is worsened by an almost urban density of the inhabitant. All of this creates an original comportment in which the heritage of old structures and the unforeseen of modern initiatives are united. Now two stable elements of the Kabyle country, those whose definition consequently thrust itself on our first observers, are the gentilitial group, takharrubt, and a primary composite, called here thaddert, because its content is absorbed, it seems, in the visual fact of the bourg contiguity. It is absorbed there with even more rigor than anything analogous in the Sous, where the social unit does not coincide with that of habitat. But beyond this, what indecision! What in Arab country corresponds to the

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000 "tribe," the ^{c}arch, is formed and unformed /438/ according to the political event. With stronger reason, the episodic aggregate of the tribes in taqbilt. Let us note this term. It is employed more exactly in Kabylia than in the Atlas, for there it keeps its philological sense of primary subdivision of the "people." This is the sense in which Ibn Khaldûn spoke of Almohade "groupings," qabâ'il, such as the Genfisa. However that may be, the Kabyle taqbilt has only circumstantial existence. The present electoral struggles see it play its role, just like the ^{c}arch, and pierce the centenary alluvion of a public life in the French manner, in the direction of insidious, but powerful apparitions. The çoff-s work more broadly than the taqbilt, but in more diffuse, more abstract fashion. In certain cases they are identified with a ^{c}arch, covering an entire section of mountain, as appears to have been the case under the Turks. But sometimes too they oppose the thaddert-s in reciprocal movements. The whole polarizes sometimes in two terms: the "upper" and the "lower," whose constancy up to our day is conjugated paradoxically with an availability of individual evolutions much keener than anywhere else in North Africa.

These Kabyle illustrations of a general phenomenon of variation carry in the case at hand some other information on the terminology of the groups. The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt, as an aggregate of families, does not correspond to the taqbilt of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, a broader, but incidental form. In the Mzâb, yet other differences. The qbîla is above all onomastic. It is conceived as a unit that has had its history, before the founding of the five towns. Its concentration in the urban habitat has undoubtedly reacted on its form. But all of its own tensions has not been effaced in it. Other Saharan towns with characteristic divisions, and less refined civilization, would permit comprehending a whole gamut of relations between the vitality of these groups and that of the city. [619] [634]

171 613 Indeed far, therefore, from the fact that the passage from the gentilitial order to that of the state presents itself everywhere with the privileged simplicity of the Haut-Atlas, the ikhs itself, or

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000 availability of course, of feint, or of hope. We see these confusions begin on the terrain, at the stage where a small political cell of the Haut Atlas bursts over two or three valleys. And what will become of these broader forms, which any knowledge, any Maghrebi action will necessarily meet on their path!

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Conclusion

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Discordance of the Material and Social Aspects (1)

> 1. One will not be able to refrain, in this development, from value judgments. In spite of the economic analyses of our Second Part, on which it was believed one could support them, the undertaking is delicate. Cf. E. Durkheim, Les règles de la méthode sociologique /The rules of the sociological method/, 1895, and the distinction between the "normal" and the "anormal," pp. 74 sq., which it is proper, in my opinion, to pair with the recent attainments of "human ecology."

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634 One might believe that the taqbilt of the Atlas, because of its clearness of foundations, its close liaison to a space, its logical rigor, finally its autonomy, arises directly from the ground, and that its structure ow[illegible] nothing to the foreigner. But there is none so solitary, so defended by the country or the event that it does not reveal, in its form as well as in its substance, a sharing with the most distant Maghreb. Let us therefore carry forward the examination of any group of the Haut Seksawa. This little society is not determined by the milieu with the exactitude that would make one conjecture an immemorial peasant civilization.

182 Adaptation to the cadre is done by a perpetual mediocrity of the peopling and of the enterprises. Mediocrity indispensable to the weak equilibrium with a nature that, in the case of demographic

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Recourse To the External and To the Transcendent

619 634 182 The system of the taqbilt, far from being an immediate datum of analysis, appears, by this head, itself conditioned. As fiercely defended as it is, it never remains isolated. It is intelligible only as resultant. Not only has it been subjected to influences, but it is posed and is conceived of only in relation to exterior or superior entities (1).

[779] It adheres to a great monotheism, Islam. It is fond of the marvels of towns and of the plain, and avid to appropriate, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. This imbues it with enthusiasms, defiances, ambiguities, and above all unrest. It feels besieged. Its culture is transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, has not escaped the touches of such a sentiment. The Seksawa order, this order with compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself wrongly. The ritual life, from its external manifestations to its most intimate movements, is resolved into divisions compounding, unequally according to the levels, the local spontaneity with the external contribution.

182 In its topographical materiality, the Seksawa domain is inseparable from the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. The same coefficient of painstaking, and almost systematic, variety that opposes customs from canton to canton, opposes the law of the Seksawa with that of this ensemble. Everything happens as if the personalities that we observe deep-rooted, and as though contracted, at the bottom of the valley grounds came from the rupture of a larger body. This perhaps explains a curious phenomenon: the fact that in this fragmentation, there has not been concordance between the law and the language. Their lines of variation do not

1. Cf. the views of Marc Block on "feudal" societies, Ann. hist. soc., 1939, p. 14.

Pl. IV

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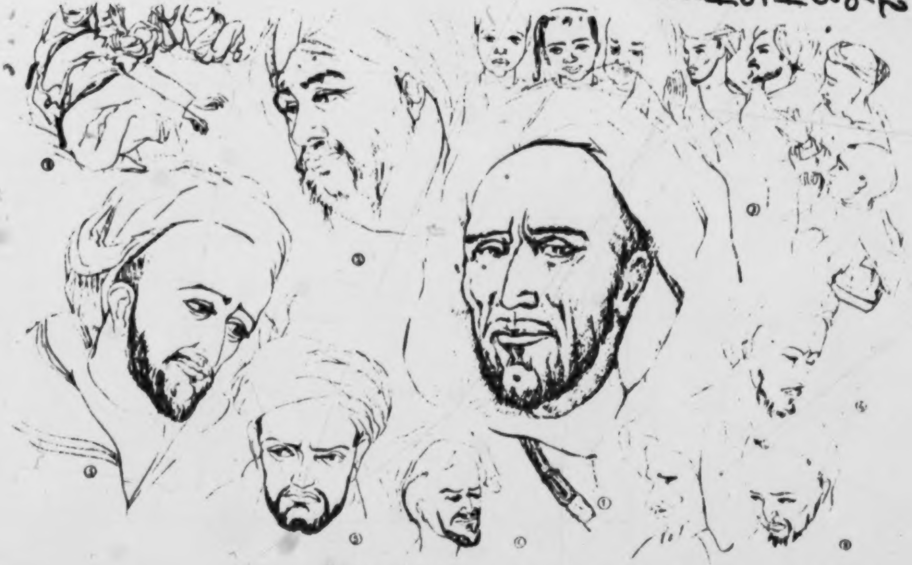

Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.
343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
353 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
361 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of
414 terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood,
tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, isknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeçray.

142 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.
291 (1) The amghar ^{c}Omar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
302 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
516 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
533 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
554 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
613 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
634 ikhs chiefs; (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
534 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of
Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the
535 ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating
from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

Pl. IX

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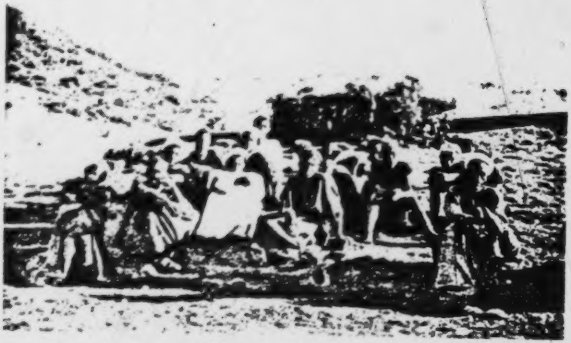

Cl. L. Berque

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

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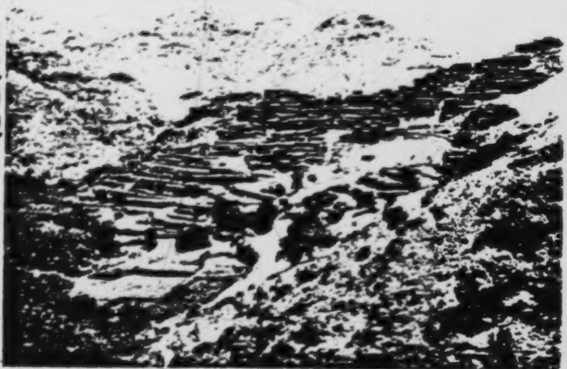

Cl. L. Berque

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which
the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial en-
sembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.
796

Pl. X

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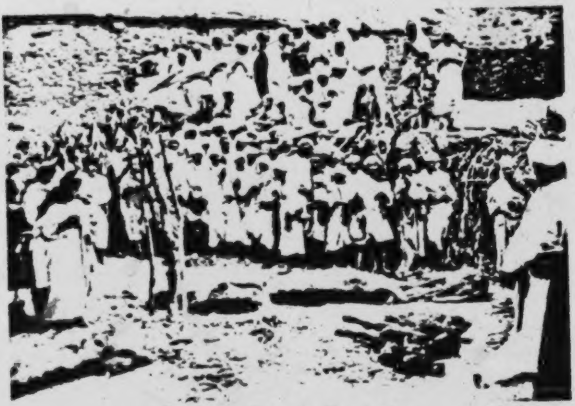

(J. L. Berque)

Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

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(J. L. Berque)

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a $ddu^{c}a$. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

632
634
621
623

Shluh MW11

[For information on the council of the agadir -- a body of notables who see to the functioning, maintenance and security of the cantons or moudas agadirs (store houses) -- see categories 571 and 343.]

634

[For general information on the political structure of the Shluh canton (*taqbilt*), including specific data on the district councils and heads of the "state" -- the *amghar* and *moquaddem* -- see Category 116, pp. 17, 48-49, 154, 160-162, 166-174, 177-182, 190-192, 196-221, 236-249, 253-260, 265, 267, 271, 292-293, 296-317, 330-332, 337-343, 350, 353, 357-386, 394-435, 439-441, 445, 449-465, 468-470, 490-492, 499, 502-516, 521-522, 530, and 534.]

/251 cont./

443 625 685 /footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] 443 •634 554 692 685 In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often, even when the fractions live by observing republican constitutions, it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of imposing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

443 *634 792 784 [778] It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as moreover in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2),

2. From the verb "miggir," *to meet* (Destaing, *Vocabulaire français berbère* /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). *Fair:* "anmuggar" (*ibid.*, p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

those defined by common residence in a nucleated or semi-nu- 613
cleated community. A common approach to the problem is that 621
illustrated by Montagne, who distinguished five units for the south- 114
ern and central Shluh: the extended family, the minor lineage (*ikhs*), 596
the *mouda* or "sous-fraction", the fraction or canton, and the tribe. 613 621
The distinction between kinship unit and community unit is not 634•
made, however. 635

> Les unités sociales les plus faciles à définir sont les plus petites et il est particulièrement aisé d'observer la vie du hameau, du village et de la sous-fraction dont l'activité se trouve limitée aux circonstances de l'existence quotidienne. 000
>
> Dans toute la montagne des Masmouda, la plupart des habitants des vallées vivent groupés en petits hameaux de vingt à trente feux, construits sur les pentes ensoleillées ou sur un piton détaché ou une roche élevée, en un lieu propice à la défense. Chaque hameau, "tadchert", est habituellement peuplé de deux ou trois groupes familiaux, auxquels on donne le nom d' "Ikhs". Ce sont là, nous l'avons vu, de petites unités patriarcales et agnatiques formées par les fils et les petits-fils d'un même père, vivant plus ou moins dans l'indivision, augmentées souvent par des apports étrangers.
>
> Il arrive d'ailleurs souvent que chaque "ikhs" occupe un groupe séparé de maisons. Le hameau prend parfois le nom d'un lieu-dit ou d'un accident topographique... Souvent, aussi, c'est le nom de la famille qui l'emporte sur celui du lieu habité...
>
> Trois ou quatre hameaux rapprochés les uns des autres, ou un gros village, comme ceux qui existent parfois à la partie supérieure des oueds, au voisinage des riches pâturages des sommets, forment généralement une unité à laquelle on donne souvent dans cette région le nom de "mouda'", et que nous appelons dans notre terminologie administrative la sous-fraction. Une "mousquée du vendredi" où les étrangers de passage viennent demander l'hospitalité, un "agádir" ou magasin collectif, dans les régions où cette institution s'est conservée, et surtout l'existence d'une "jema'a", assemblée de tous les hommes en état de porter les armes, telles sont les institutions du "mouda'"... (Montagne, 1930, pp. 151-152).

Berque, speaking from his experiences among the Seksaoua (559) of the western High Atlas, presents a somewhat different analysis of a situation in which the *mouda* is perhaps somewhat variant.

> La forme de l'habitat est celle du "hameau" *lmud'a* aux maisons soudées, opposant à la menace externe un périmètre sans fissure. L'aggloméré-

> essentielle d'être en quelque sorte les champions permanents. Ce sont eux qui marchent au combat en tête de tous les autres et s'efforcent d'y entraîner leurs frères par l'exemple de leur propre intrépidité. Une observation curieuse permet au reste de mettre en lumière le rôle si particulier qui leur est dévolu: toutes les luttes privées qui se sont déroulées chez les Ait Jellîdasen depuis une soixantaine d'années – elles sont au nombre d'une douzaine environ –, n'ont opposé successivement les uns aux autres que les "ighousâs" d'"Ait A'ouwâm", portant chacun la bannière de sa fraction respective... (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

Similar communal paragons are known from the Haha of the western High Atlas, and may be more widespread than reported (Doutté, 1905).

e. *District*

Beyond the commune one finds a still larger division, the district, 634
customarily termed a "fourth" or a "fifth" in the Berber languages [619]
because, in theory at least, four or five of these units consitute a larger unit, usually the tribe. Thus we have the term *khums* ("fifth") [192]
used among the Shluh and Beraber (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 152-155); *rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* and *thakhammasth* ("fifth") among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 15); and *rebaa* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 139). One exception to this, however, is the word *taqbilt* (pl. *tiqilin*), used by the Shluh to refer to both a district and a tribe (Adam, 1941, p. 76; Montagne, 1930, p. 152). In the French and [114]
Spanish literature this division is customarily designated as a "fraction" or "canton", and must not be confused with Coon's and Hart's "canton", which is the major lineage or commune (Berque, 1955; Coon, 1931; Deverdun, 1942; Hart, 1954; Marcy, 1929; Montagne, 1930; Paniagua y Santos, 1948; Querleux, 1915; Spillman, 1936).

The district is defined more by geographical proximity than by blood, although there may be many lineages in the same district, even in different communes, which are related by blood and marriage. In some special cases, the district as a whole may claim descent from some common ancestor. The Berber district is in essence a political federation of "villages" or hamlets. Usually it has boundaries no more than 9 or 10 miles across, and is inhabited by a few

hundred families scattered in a dozen or so dispersed hamlets or 634
three or four larger villages. In most areas of the Shluh country, these traditionally constitute practically independent republics:

> ... [The districts] are vital organisms. Small though they be they have to be considered for all practical purposes as true states. The feeling of attachment to the canton [sic] is narrowly territorial and is enhanced by the fact that in a mountain area there inevitably must be, if only for military reasons, some adjustment of the size of each social unit to the natural dimensions of hills and valleys. Nevertheless, as Robert Montagne discovered, the cantonal territories proper tend to be of fairly equal size throughout the Berber lands. For the limits of the canton do not quite coincide with the natural boundaries of these mountain habitats, but may fall short of them, a canton occupying only the space it actually requires, ignoring the more generous expanse offered by nature. This standard size of the cantons is due to organizational reasons. The cantons are ruled by assemblies (djema'a) of notables (inflas) or heads of the extended families, who are supposed to meet regularly. A day's walk over hilly terrain is therefore the canton's natural radius... (Benet, 1957, p. 191).

While the district is not traditionally an independent political unit in most other sections of the country, particularly in the Arabic-speaking plain, it still remains an important socio-political unit (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 304-305, 313; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 15-16).

Throughout the rural areas the districts are designated by names of imputed ancestors or founders. Thus – Ait Lhason, Ait Abdallah, Ait Mousa. The concept, present in some groups, that all the members of the district are descendants from a single ancestor,
is completely fictional. One characteristic of Morocco is great [166]
internal mobility in the form of temporary or permanent migrations resulting from economic pressure, epidemics, and (formerly) exile and banishment. This population movement has affected every section of the country, from the highest mountains to the coastal
plain. Thus, in the district of Ait Lemsour of the Goundafa tribe 634
(589) of the High Atlas, Montagne found none of seventeen minor 613
lineages to be "aboriginal". In the neighboring Seksaoua tribe 166
(559), considered to be a very ancient group by the plains-dwellers, foreign lineages from the other tribes of the neighboring mountains, from the *Haouz* or plain of Marrakech, from the valley of the Sous,

or of the Oued Noun, are scattered pell-mell throughout the terri- 634 •
tory. In almost all cases this population turnover is accomplished 613
on an individual basis, individuals or families simply attaching 166
themselves to a community in new territory. In the midst of all this constant renewal of individual elements of the society, the Berber district remains unchanged in outward form or internal structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 153-154).

f. *Tribe*

Districts are customarily grouped to form a tribe, known as a 619
taqbilt or *qabila* among the Shluh, Beraber, and Zenata (Abes, 1917, [634]
p. 189; Adam, 1951, p. 76; Doutté, 1905; Marcy, 1929, p. 139), and [192]
as a *qabila*, *zakoir*, or *thakabitch* among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 16).

In contrast to the commune and district, the tribe is a creature of sentiment and attitude, lacking any concrete character or any overt political institutions. It is a territorial unit, the criteria of affiliation being residence within a definite area (though in some cases the boundaries of this area may not be strictly defined). It has a name implying group descent from a common legendary ancestor – an implication usually denied by the tribespeople themselves. Its members recognize a tribal patron saint, common traditions, and sometimes a tribal flag. However, its members do not customarily function as a unit except under circumstances of common danger.

g. *Confederation*

A number of neighboring tribes may feel an affinity through rea- ooo
sons of common interest, history, or residence, and may constitute a vague unit known as a sub-confederation, confederation, or super-confederation, depending upon the exact shade of relationship (see Table III, for examples of structuring). Such confederation units are of little political significance except in case of attack by an outside group. They are largely lacking among the tribes of the Jebala, northeastern Morocco, the central High Atlas, and the Anti-Atlas, but are well developed among the coastal tribes near Rabat (Deverdun, 1942, p. 306; Montagne, 1930, pp. 164-169).

[pp. 62-84 not processed]

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, 623
Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of 634
superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are 635 [171]
designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic
ejjemaa. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain*
("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle
Atlas, and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe
or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer [192]
to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") –
used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau*
(pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon,
1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222).

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest 621
groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* 623
inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or
tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads
having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "not- [554]
able" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate
in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren*
in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal
character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired autho-
rity, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character [561]
of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude
that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience
and judgment, and they should guide and command the young.
Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council,
but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of
their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne,
1930, pp. 220-224).

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 000
96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or

minor lineage council) was composed of two or three boys from each of the extended families claiming descent from the common founder of the minor lineage. These boys were chosen by the members of the comune council (the "council of the great"), supposedly by virtue of their superior intelligence and promise of future ability. These junior notables followed the general pattern governing council conduct – electing a *moqaddem* (pl. *moqaddemin*; "moderator"), meeting in the village mosque, and judging minor cases brought before them. Their elders saw to it that their decisions were enforced. Since Coon also found many cases in which village councils were absent, it seems reasonable to conclude that in this region, at least, the institution did not serve an important function.

613 Each of the social units existing above the minor lineage or village
621 customarily has its own representative council composed of repre-
623 sentatives or delegates from the inferior social unit (usually this is
635 equivalent to a delegate from the council of the inferior unit). Thus
634 the *jemaa* of the commune consists of representatives from each
minor lineage council; the *jemaa* of the district may consist of
representatives from each commune or village; and the *jemaa* of the
tribe, of representatives from each district. In the Rif, however,
the district council is absent (this is also the case, naturally, among
those Beraber groups in which the district is not present), and the
tribal council is composed of representatives from each commune
or village (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-98; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Mon-
tagne, 1930, pp. 219-221).

Among the *ksar*-dwellers of southern Morocco the institution of the *jemaa* shows considerable modification. In Ksar Nesrat, for example, superimposed councils are absent – instead the tribal government is embodied in a single bicameral organization composed of a superior assembly (*Jemaa el Kebira*) and an inferior assembly (*Jemaa el'amma*). The seats within the superior assembly are the property of the noble extended families within each of the seven division of the *ksar* (these divisions are probably morphologically equivalent to major lineages or communes – see Table III), and are filled by representatives selected by each of these noble families. Each division is therefore represented in proportion to the number of its noble families. Once designated, the councillors

hold office for life, except in case of grave error or commission. ooo
The two presidents, the *imgharin*, are chosen for life by the members of the superior council, and represent the *ksar* before outsiders (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32).

The members of the inferior or peoples' council are chosen by the superior council from among the most violent and boisterous toughs in each division, for they are responsible for carrying out the decisions of the superior council and for policing the *ksar*, and the theory is that this work will be facilitated by the fear which they inspire. The president of the inferior council, the *amghar n l'amt*, is similarly selected by the members of the superior body, and acts as a police-chief for the *ksar* (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 33).

Such a bicameral organization apparently is common throughout the Lektawa region, with the common variation that the superior council has only one president, or *amghar*. To the east, in the Tiallalin region of the Oued Ziz, this political structure apparently becomes simplified further, for Laoust reports the presence of only one council. In theory this is composed of the notables or respondants (*amur*, *bab n umur*, *amasay* in Berber; *mezrag*, *reffad*, or *hamil* in Arabic) of each division, and is headed by a president or chief (*amghar n taqbilt*) elected annually by the noble families of the *ksar*. In practice, however, the same individual may become chief year after year, and he may even select the respondants from each division. The chief also appoints an assistant (*amghar ellemezrae*) each year from among the divisions, who acts as a controller or police-chief over the respondants and is therefore morphologically equivalent to the *amghar n l'amt* in Nesrat (La Chapelle, 1929, p. 32; Laoust, 1934, pp. 143-144).

Among all Berber groups the less important councils customarily 623
hold their meetings in the local mosque. District and tribal councils 634
commonly meet at district or tribal market places. 366
368
635

b. *Function*

Among the traditional Berbers the function of each representative 623
council is to deal with those matters which interest it as a whole 635
and concern only its members. Within this sphere it exercises what 634
are commonly referred to in Western political thought as executive,

623 legislative, and judicial functions. The council concerns itself with 635 the maintainance of internal equilibrium between individuals by 634 dispensing and enforcing the customary law, modifying it if necessary; maintains relations with outside groups, and conducts wars against them; administers the communal institutions (mosque, saints' tombs, mosque school, communal granary and cemetery, and irrigation system); distributes water according to the local pattern of water rights; administers and distributes communal lands both for purposes of agriculture and grazing; fixes the schedule for agricultural operations or nomadic or transhumant migration; and in some cases also manages the local market (Coon, 1931, pp. 96-109, 112-114; Deverdun, 1942, p. 307; Doutté, 1905; Hart, 1954, pp. 65-66; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33; Laoust, 1934, pp. 140-146; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 280-281; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, pp. 14-15).

The *jemaa* generally carries out its functions by appointing or electing executors of various sorts and delegating power and authority to these individuals. The most important of these is the president of the council itself, known as an *amghar* or *sheikh* if head of a district or tribal council, and otherwise as a *moqaddem*. Other functionaries include the administrator of communal labor (particularly on irrigation projects), the administrator or distributor of water, the communal policeman, the religious teacher, and specialists in the administration of customary law (known as *anezzarfou*, pl., *inezzourfa*), though the council reserves the power to revise and modify this legal code (Berque, 1955, pp. 107, 112; Hart, 1954, p. 65; Loubignac, 1942, pp. 280-281; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 14).

671 c. *Customary Law*

Traditionally, all disputes among the Berbers, both of a civil or criminal nature, were settled through reference to traditional customary law (*azrif*), which was largely uncodified and showed slight variations from tribe to tribe. Although replaced among the plains populations by the Moslem *Shari'a*, Berber customary law is still functional in civil cases throughout the Middle and High Atlas (1957), partly through French intervention on its behalf (Coudino, 1942, p. 431; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 230-231).

The local and communal aspects of the *azrif* are known variously

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

Shooting at a man but missing him,
Collection of blood money,
Failure to attend weddings outside the commune,
Speaking to women in market.

Tribal Council

Adultery caught in the act,
Wounding,
Murder.

681 The nature of the crime also determines the fine imposed. All
[685] *'urfs* on record are for the most part long lists of fines for infractions
[623] of various rules. If the crime is theft, the fine also varies according
[634] to the value of the object stolen. These fines are generally paid to
[635] the *jemaa* having jurisdiction over the case. Thus, in Nesrat the
fine paid by the respondant of a division of the *ksar* to the *amghar n*
[171] *l'amt* accrues to the members of the superior council (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 232; La Chapelle, 1929, pp. 32-33).

682 This system of jurisprudence, while functioning satisfactorily in
most cases, often broke down when the crime was homicide, either
because the initial act caused such immediate reprisal and developed
into a war so quickly that the councillors found themselves fighting
on one side or another before they could call a meeting, or because
the tribal council lacked the power to enforce its decision. This
692 situation was forestalled somewhat among some of the Shluh tribes
through the institution of annual "rounds of justice".

> ... Lorsque les cantons [districts] sont ainsi groupés de manière à constituer une véritable tribu, formée d'un certain nombre de petites unités autonomes, on procède souvent à des tournées de justice exécutées dans tout le territoire, au cours desquelles toutes les infractions commises pendant l'année sont examinées et punies. Toutes les forces de la tribu viennent alors prêter leur appui à chacun des cantons pour faciliter le règlement rapide des différends sans qu'il en résulte aucun danger pour la paix intérieure.
>
> Cette coutume, naguère observée chez les Igezzoulen de l'Anti-Atlas occidental, est encore très vivante dans la confédération des Ida Ou Tanan, chez les Ait Ou'azzoun [545] et les Ifesfasen [544]. La tournée de justice est accomplie en suivant un cérémonial minutieusement observé. Chez les Aït Ou'azzoun, par exemple, tribu formée de quinze "afous" ou

> 000 women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.
>
> The *bone* then flees in a body to another fifth, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there [thereby "casting" an *'ar* upon them]. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council... (Coon, 1931, pp. 104-105).

628 As a result of these attitudes and institutions, vendetta warfare was the normal state of existence throughout much of the Berber highlands before the French Protectorate (Loubignac, 1942, p. 286).

d. *Council Presidents or "Chiefs"*

623 As indicated above, almost all representative councils have
554 presiding officers known variously as *moqademin* (pl. of *moqaddem*),
634 *imgharin* (pl. of *amghar*), or *shiukh* (pl. of *sheikh*). In the traditional
635 Berber republic this individual was only *primus inter pares*; he
executed the wishes of the council, and he depended largely upon
his personal qualities of moderation, persuasion, intelligence, and
good luck. If he attempted to abuse his power the council punished
[687] him by a heavy fine, by burning his house or tent, or even putting
634 him to death. Despite the threat of these sanctions, the tribal or
635 district *jemaa* usually had to watch its president most carefully lest
554 he usurp power or establish himself permanently (Doutté, 1905;
Montagne, 1930, pp. 224-225).

The powers and functions of the council president throughout most of the Berber country have been well described by Loubignac, who we will here follow closely. Of the various council presidents the most important were those of the independent district (among

the southern Shluh groups) or of the tribe. These higher officials 634
customarily carried the title of *amghar* (a Berber word derived from 635
the root *mqour*, signifying "to be great or important") and of *sheikh* 554
– these titles also appearing in such combination as *amghar n'tuga*
("chief of the grass"), *sheikh er rbi'a* ("chief of the spring, grass[?]"),
and *sheikh el 'am* ("chief of the year"). In most cases these chiefs [666]
held office for only one year, though in some cases they could be
reelected for a second term. Among the Ait Outferkal (605), however, the term of office corresponded in years to the number of divisions in the district responsible for appointing the tribal chief. More recently each district of this tribe has had a separate chief appointed for life – this is also the situation in many of the sub-Saharan regions explored by Foucauld. Among most Berber groups
it was customary for the district or tribal president to remain in [701]
office for longer than a year if a war developed during his term of offiice, and if he proved himself to be a capable leader. Only in time of war did he have any real power (Loubignac, 1942, pp. 281-282).

To be eligible for the post of tribal chieftain an individual gener- 635
ally had to be a native of the tribe, although long residence therein 666
(40 years or so) sometimes could substitute for this requirement. 554
The applicant also had to have experience in high public office; this and the previous requirements limited the circle of candidates to include only the tribal notables. The actual selection of the tribal *amghar* was almost always the prerogative of the *jemaa* – the only exceptions being among the Ait Mehammed (606) in the area of Azilal, and at Boudenig (in the area of the Ait Izdeg du Guir [438]), where the tribes have delegated the responsibility of choosing their
leaders to holy men. Here and elsewhere, the selection is custo- 635
marily made in the spring. Among the Ait Ichkern (416), for 666
example, the incumbent *amghar* at this time notifies a conference of 527
notables known as *asifed* ("return of powers") that his term is about to expire, and calls the tribe together for the ceremony known as the *taalamt*, for which he fixes the date. At the appropriate time delegations from all the divisions of the tribe assemble at the designated site with their tents, horses, and servants, accompanied *en masse* by the tribes-people. The preliminary festivities,

1936, pp. 50-51; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-567). 628

Among the transhumants *tagma* and *tada* alliances are employed 571
first and foremost to control and regularize occupancy of pasturelands 171
– a function particularly important in those regions, such as the Middle Atlas, where each area, upon becoming vacated by the departure of one group, is immediately reoccupied by one coming up from the rear. In such a situation, the existence of the alliance enables the councils of the allied groups to designate lands of common pasturage, in which members of the two groups may graze their sheep successively or together. Only under such circumstances does grazing take place freely and without molestation. In fact, good relations between two groups occupying the same territory is inconceivable without the existence of a *tada* alliance, for this alliance not only opens the way for common use of the land, but also prohibits theft, adultery, or other injury (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 366-368).

Leff alliances differ from *tada* alliances in involving many more 571
groups and covering much larger areas; furthermore they characteristically 628
involve the alignment of politically independent districts 616
or tribes into two balanced and opposed units known as *leff* (pl. 634
lfuf) in Arabic, as *ameqqon* (pl. *imeqqon*) in Tashilhait, and as 635
tafergant in Tamazight. These units characteristically form a checkerboard or mosaic structure which may cut boldly across both tribal and confederation boundaries, allying, for example, districts of one tribe with districts in another and putting them into opposition with districts within their own tribe (see Fig. 7); they thus present a pattern in which each district or tribe is usually bordered by some of the same and some of the opposite *leff* unit. In areas where the *leff* structure was still strong in the pre-Protectorate period, such as among the Shluh and Beraber, and in the western Jebala, the *leff* units seem to have functioned primarily to provide
mutual assistance in defensive war. Among the Shluh and the [171]
Riffians the units were characteristically permanent – dividing the population into traditional moieties; among the Beraber realignments were more common; among the Arabic-speakers the *leff* structures were characteristically unstable, and also demonstrated disintegration resulting from the natural antagonism of the *Makh-*

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

102
571
616
• 634
635

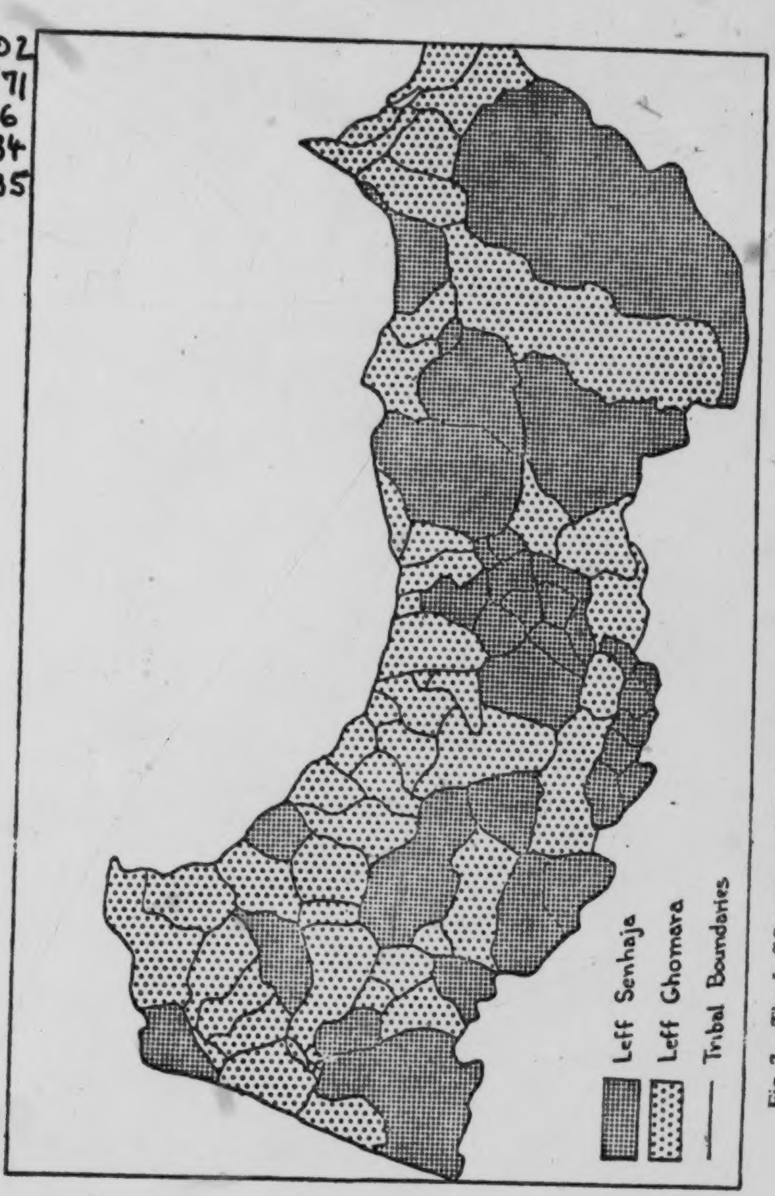
▨ Leff Senhaja
░ Leff Ghomara
— Tribal Boundaries

Fig. 7. The *Leff* Structure of Northern Morocco, Redrawn from Montagne (1930, map opp. p. 208).

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; 571
Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 628
1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; 616
Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439, for 634 635
a critique of the *leff* theory). (171]

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an
extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This [171]
is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51).

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a
strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, [726]
in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers [202]
to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203).

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco 616
during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied 171
greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and